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ART. I.—THE THEOLOGY OF EDWARDS, AS SHOWN IN HIS TREATISE CONCERNING RELIGIOUS AFFECTIONS.

THE Treatise of Edwards “concerning Religious Affections” is, by general acknowledgment, the standard work on that subject, discriminating correctly between the affections of the regenerate and the unregenerate. In this respect its praise is in all the churches, so that it needs no words of commendation from us; and yet, perhaps, the churches would do well to study it more than they do. False conversions, such as it exposes, sometimes occur at the present day. There are even preachers so ignorant as to strive to produce them, and hearers who strive after them, and attain to them, and then think themselves regenerate, and offer themselves to the churches; and if tests, substantially the same as these set forth in this work, are not applied to them, they may be received as members, to the unspeakable injury of themselves and others.

Such spurious conversions attend every great revival of religion. Their frequency and pernicious influence in the

great awakening about the year 1740, in the judgment of Edwards, brought that revival to an end. "And so," he says in his preface, "it is likely ever to be in the church whenever religion revives remarkably, till we have learned well to distinguish between true and false religion; between saving affections and experiences, and those manifold fair shows and glistening appearances by which they are counterfeited; the consequences of which, when they are not distinguished, are often inexpressibly dreadful." "Therefore it greatly concerns us to use our utmost endeavors clearly to discern, and have it well settled and established, wherein true religion does consist. Till this be done, it may be expected that great revivings of religion will be of short continuance." And if so, the present is a time when this work ought to receive special attention.

But highly and generally as this treatise has been esteemed, it has usually been thought of merely as a practical work; and it has probably seldom been consulted as an authority or a help in the study of scientific theology. American divines, differing widely from each other on important points, commonly claim to hold the theology of Edwards; and they quote from his treatises on Original Sin, on the Will, on the Nature of Virtue, or on God's End in Creation, in support of their claims. But if we have ever seen a reference to his Treatise on the Affections for such a purpose, it has escaped our recollection. And yet, so far as the whole doctrine of regeneration is concerned, where should we look for his theology rather than here? The work was written for the express purpose of teaching what regeneration is, and distinguishing it from all counterfeits. It goes fully and minutely into the theoretic consideration of the subject, and thus establishes the principles from which all its practical conclusions are scientifically deduced. He says in his preface: "The consideration of these things has long engaged me to attend to this matter with the utmost diligence and care, and exactness of search and inquiry that I have been capable of. It is a subject on which my mind has been peculiarly intent ever since I first entered on the study of divinity." If we would

learn what the "Theology of Edwards" actually was, no work from his pen is more worthy of study, or of higher authority, than this.

The question may be raised, and perhaps will be raised by some, whether the doctrines of this Treatise are all perfectly consistent with those of his more purely speculative essays.

Probably he never troubled himself with that question. He seems to have investigated each subject to which he turned his attention, on its own merits, knowing that truth on one subject is always consistent with truth on another. And so it is apt to be with minds of his order. They do not usually construct systems. Columbus wrote no Geography for the use of schools. Such men "see the distant tops of thoughts" far beyond the circle of those things which are well enough understood to be capable of systematic arrangement. It is not strange if apparent inconsistencies are sometimes found in their conclusions. Indeed, a system of theology, a system of doctrines concerning the Infinite, so comprehended by a finite mind that the consistency of every part with every other part is clearly seen, must be a system the parts of which, symmetrically, fall far short of the truth. A discovery in one department of science creates a necessity for equal discoveries in all the other parts, in order that the harmony which we know exists in truth may be manifest to our understandings. Even, then, if all that Edwards has written be correct, it is no wonder if the consistency of some parts with others should still need to be shown.

If, therefore, everything in this Treatise should not be seen to be consistent with something which he is thought to have said elsewhere, it should not for that reason be cast aside, as no part of his theology. The doctrines may be reconcilable, though some one may fail to see the mode of reconciliation, and there is no part of his writings which, with greater certainty, presents his permanent convictions. The central, governing thought of this Treatise appears in his sermon on True Grace. It is clearly developed in his sermon on Spiritual Light, preached and published in 1734. Indeed, its workings show themselves in his own account of his early religious expe-

rience. It exerted a controlling influence on his conduct in the great trial of his life, the controversy that ended in his dismissal from Northampton. For it, and views inseparably connected with it in his mind and in their logical relations, he suffered that ecclesiastical martyrdom. No doctrine more certainly than this, belongs to his theology.

What, then, is his doctrine of Regeneration? And first, what, in his view, constitutes the essential difference between a regenerate and an unregenerate man? This is the point especially discussed in the *Treatise on the Affections*.

Having shown, in the First Part, that "true religion, in great part, consists in holy affections," he proceeds, in Part Second, to show "what are no certain signs that religious affections are truly gracious, or that they are not." "It is no sign, one way or the other, that religious affections are very great, or raised very high;" "that they have great effects on the body;" "that they cause those who have them to be fluent, fervent, and abundant in talking of the things of religion;" "that persons did not make them themselves, or excite them of their own contrivance, or by their own strength;" "that they come with texts of Scripture, remarkably brought to the mind;" "that there is an appearance of love in them;" "having religious affections of many kinds, accompanying one another;" "that comforts and joys seem to follow awakenings and convictions of conscience in a certain order;" "that they dispose persons to spend much time in religion, and to be zealously engaged in the external duties of worship;" "that they much dispose persons with their mouths to praise and glorify God;" "that they make persons that have them exceeding confident that what they experience is divine, and that they are in a good estate;" or "that the outward manifestations of them, and the relation persons give of them, are very affecting and pleasing to the truly godly, and such as greatly gain their charity, and win their hearts." All these points are argued at length, and established conclusively; and yet, if a candidate for membership appears right in all these respects, how many churches would insist on farther evidence of regeneration?

The Third Part shows "what are distinguishing signs of truly gracious affections;" signs which, but for our liability to mistake as to their existence, would enable us always to discriminate between the regenerate and others.

And to begin with that which, though not directly observable, is the foundation of all, he asserts, first, that "affections that are truly spiritual and gracious, do arise from those influences and operations on the heart which are spiritual, supernatural, and divine." Regenerate persons are called spiritual, "because of the indwelling and holy influences of the Spirit of God in them." "The Spirit of God is given to the true saints, to dwell in them as his proper, lasting abode, and to influence their hearts as a principle of new nature, or as a divine, supernatural spring of life and action." "He is represented as being there so united to the faculties of the soul, that he becomes there a principle or spring of new nature and life." "The Spirit of God, dwelling as a vital principle in their souls, there produces those effects wherein he exerts and communicates himself in his own proper nature," which is holiness; and that holiness "is of the same nature with the Divine holiness, as much as it is possible for that holiness to be, which is infinitely less in degree."

He makes his meaning plainer by a distinction, or rather, a contrast. "The Spirit of God never influences the minds of natural men after this manner. Though he may influence them many ways, yet he never, in any of his influences, communicates himself to them in his own proper nature. Indeed, he never acts disagreeably to his nature, either on the minds of saints or sinners. But the Spirit of God may act on men agreeably to his own nature, and not exert his proper nature in the acts and exercises of their minds;" as he "moved on the face of the waters;" without imparting his holiness to them. We must observe the necessary implication, that he does "exert his proper nature in the acts and exercises" of regenerate minds. He is so "united to the faculties of the" regenerate "soul," as to be active, to "exert his proper nature," in its acts. He acts *in* them. He is active in their activity. But not so with respect to natural men. He does

not act *in* their minds. He acts *on* their minds as an agent external to themselves, presenting to their contemplation ideas of duty, of guilt, of danger, and thus producing in them conviction, alarm and anxiety, of which the natural man is capable on natural principles. But he does not act *in* the activity of their minds, so as to communicate his own moral attribute of holiness to the action.

This distinction between "on" and "in" is of fundamental importance, underlying a difference in kind between the exercises of natural and spiritual men. "The true saints only have that which is spiritual. Others have nothing which is divine, in the sense that has been spoken of. They not only have not these communications of the Spirit of God in so high a degree as the saints, but have nothing of that nature or kind." "From these things it is evident that those gracious influences which the saints are subjects of, and the effects of God's Spirit which they experience, are entirely above nature, altogether of a different kind from anything that men find within themselves by nature, or only in the exercises of natural principles; and are things which no improvement of those qualifications or principles that are natural, no advancing or exalting them to higher degrees, and no kind of composition of them, will ever bring men to; because they not only differ from what is natural, and from every thing that natural men experience, in degree and circumstances, but also in kind, and are of a nature vastly more excellent. And this is what I mean when I say that gracious affections are from those influences that are supernatural."

We shall soon see how this bears on Locke's theory of the origin of ideas, deriving them all from sensation and reflection on the products of sensation. Edwards proceeds:

"From hence it follows, that in those gracious exercises and affections which are wrought in the minds of the saints, through the saving influences of the Spirit of God, there is a new inward perception or sensation of their minds, entirely different in its nature and kind from anything that ever their minds were the subjects of before they were sanctified."

"There is some new sensation or perception of the mind, which is entirely of a new sort, and which could be produced by no exalting, varying, or compounding of that kind of perceptions or sensations which the mind had before; or there is what some metaphysicians call a new simple idea." "And here is, as it were, a new spiritual sense that the mind has, or a principle of a new kind of perception or spiritual sensation, which is in its whole nature different from any former kinds of sensation of the mind, as tasting is diverse from any of the other senses." "So that the spiritual perceptions which a sanctified and spiritual person has, are not only diverse from all that natural men have, after the manner that the ideas or perceptions of the same sense may differ one from another, but rather as the ideas and sensations of different senses do differ."

Evidently, according to this doctrine, the spiritual man has such a "new simple idea," as is neither furnished by the bodily senses, nor by reflection on any of the products of sense. And even the natural man has the faculties necessary for such "spiritual perceptions." "This new spiritual sense is not a new faculty of understanding, but it is a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises of the same faculty of understanding."

The perception of "a new simple idea," not received through the senses, nor formed from the products of sense by any "exalting, varying, or compounding" of them, "or by adding anything of the like kind," or "by any improvement, composition, or management" of them, but differing "in kind" from all ideas of such origin, as the ideas of one bodily sense differ from those of another, must be an intuition. And as the natural man has all the faculties that the spiritual man has, he must have, in addition to all the faculties that Locke ascribes to him, a faculty of direct intuition of spiritual truth.

This is made still plainer, as, through nearly forty pages, this "new simple idea" and its results, are distinguished from various effects of the Spirit of God, working "on" the mind of the natural man. Thus acting, the Spirit "only

moves, impresses, assists, improves, or in some way acts upon, natural principles; but gives no new spiritual principle." When he gives a man visions, as to Balaam, or dreams, "it is only exciting ideas of the same kind that he has by natural principles and senses." If he reveals anything that shall hereafter be seen or heard, it is only impressing, in an extraordinary manner, ideas that shall hereafter be received in the ordinary manner. "So, in the more ordinary influences of the Spirit of God on the hearts of sinners, he only assists natural principles to do the same work to a greater degree which they do of themselves by nature." "In those awakenings and convictions that natural men have, God only assists conscience, which is a natural principle, to do that work in a further degree, which it naturally does. Conscience naturally gives men an apprehension of right and wrong, and suggests the relation there is between right and wrong and a retribution. The Spirit of God assists men's consciences to do this in a greater degree; helps conscience against the stupefying influence of worldly objects and their lusts. And so, many other ways might be mentioned wherein the Spirit acts upon, assists, and moves, natural principles; but, after all, it is no more than nature moved, acted, and improved." Hence, there is nothing spiritual, no evidence of regeneration, in having an idea of Christ on the cross, or smiling from his throne or judgment-seat; or seeming to hear any text of Scripture, or words of Scripture coming into the mind, even if it could be known that the Holy Spirit suggested them; or in comfort from some gracious promise, coming suddenly into the mind after terror; or even in the revelation, were it actually made, of the fact that one shall be saved. Indeed, what some call "the witness of the Spirit," by which they mean, the knowledge of the fact that they are converted, has not necessarily anything truly spiritual in it, any more than the knowledge of the fact that some other person is converted, or that a certain person, Saul of Tarsus, for instance, was converted long ago.

The second positive criterion of gracious affections is stated as follows:

"The first objective ground of gracious affections is the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things, as they are in themselves, and not any conceived relation they bear to self or self-interest."

Under this head, he dwells mainly on the last clause; showing that though self-love may exist and act in saints, even in relation to divine things, it is not "the first, or primary and original foundation" of their spiritual affections, as it is of the religious affections of hypocrites. Having settled this point, he gives his third positive criterion thus:

"Those affections that are truly holy, are primarily founded on the loveliness of the moral excellency of divine things; or, to express it otherwise, a love to divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency is the first beginning and spring of all holy affections."

"The moral excellency of an intelligent being, when it is true and real, and not only external, or merely seeming and counterfeit, is holiness." "That kind of excellency of the nature of divine things which is the first objective ground of all holy affections, is their moral excellency or their holiness. Holy persons, in the exercise of holy affections, do love divine things primarily for their holiness. They love God, in the first place, for the beauty of his holiness, or moral perfection, as being supremely amiable in itself." They love him, indeed, for all his attributes; but "a true love to God must begin with a delight in his holiness, and not with a delight in every other attribute; for no other attribute is truly lovely without this, and no otherwise than as (according to our way of conceiving of God) it derives its loveliness from this, and therefore it is impossible that other attributes should appear lovely, in their true loveliness, until this is seen; and it is impossible that any perfection of the divine nature should be loved with true love, until this is loved." "They that do not see the glory of God's holiness, cannot see anything of the true glory of his mercy and grace. They see nothing of the glory of these attributes as any excellency of God's nature, as it is in itself; though they may be affected with them and love them, as they concern their interest." "As the beauty

of the divine nature does primarily consist in God's holiness, so does the beauty of all divine things" consist in their holiness.

We are about to learn what that "new simple idea" is. "Now, this that I have been speaking, viz. the beauty of holiness, is that thing in spiritual and divine things, which is perceived by this spiritual sense, that is so diverse from all that natural men perceive in them. This kind of beauty is the quality that is the immediate object of this spiritual sense. This is the sweetness that is the proper object of this spiritual taste." In other words, the saints have an intuitive perception of the beauty of holiness, but natural men have not. The idea of that beauty is the "new simple idea" which is given by the Spirit of God, dwelling and acting "in" the mind.

And yet natural men may know much of God. "Wicked men and devils will see, and have a great sense of, everything that appertains to the glory of God, but only the beauty of his moral perfection. They will see his infinite greatness and majesty, his infinite power, and will be fully convinced of his omniscience, and his eternity, and his immutability; and they will see and know everything appertaining to his moral attributes themselves, but only the beauty and amiableness of them. They will see and know that he is perfectly just, and righteous, and true, and that he is a holy God of purer eyes than to behold evil, who cannot look on iniquity; and they will see the wonderful manifestations of his infinite goodness and free grace to the saints; and there is nothing will be hid from their eyes, but only the beauty of these moral attributes, and the beauty of the other attributes which arises from it. And so, natural men in this world are capable of having a very affecting sense of everything else that appertains to God, but this only." "The sense that natural men have of the awful greatness of God may affect them in various ways. It may not only terrify them, but it may elevate them, and raise their joy and praise as their circumstances may be," and hence a variety of false and delusive experiences.

Edwards is careful to make us understand that this "new simple idea" is really a new idea, and not merely a new feeling in view of an old idea. His fourth criterion is this:—

"Gracious affections do arise from the mind's being enlightened, richly and spiritually to understand or apprehend divine things."

"Holy affections are not heat without light, but evermore arise from the information of the understanding, some spiritual instruction that the mind receives, some light, or actual knowledge. The child of God is graciously affected, because he sees and understands something more of divine things than he did before." "Now there are many affections which do not arise from any light in the understanding," and which, therefore, "are not spiritual, let them be ever so high." "And if men's religious affections do truly arise from some instruction or light in the understanding, yet the affection is not gracious, unless the light which is the ground of it be spiritual."

But though this "new simple idea" of "the supreme beauty and excellency of the nature of divine things as they are in themselves" is really an idea, an addition to the knowledge of him that has it, yet it is not the product or object of "the mere notional understanding, wherein the mind only beholds things in the exercise of a speculative faculty." "That sort of knowledge by which a man has a sensible perception of amiableness and loathsomeness, or of sweetness and nauseousness, is not just the same sort of knowledge with that by which he knows what a triangle is, or what a square is. The one is mere speculative knowledge; the other, sensible knowledge, in which more than the mere intellect is concerned. The heart is the proper subject of it; or the soul, as a being that not only beholds, but has inclination, and is pleased or displeased. And yet, there is the nature of instruction in it; as he that has perceived the sweet taste of honey, knows much more about it than he who has only looked upon it and felt it."

There is, then, in the departments of morals and æsthetics, not merely one idea, but a whole class of ideas, the possession of which can be attained only by direct intuition.

They can neither come into the mind through the bodily senses, nor be formed in the mind by any "exalting," or "varying," or "compounding," or "any management" whatever, of materials which those senses furnish.

In respect to the spiritual man, this is expressly taught. "When the true beauty and amiableness of holiness, or true moral good that is in divine things, is discovered to the soul, it, as it were, opens a new world to its views. This shows the glory of all the perfections of God, and of everything appertaining to the Divine Being." "This shows the glory of all God's works, both of creation and providence." "By this sense of the moral beauty of divine things, is understood the sufficiency of Christ as a mediator." "By this sight of the moral beauty of divine things, is seen the beauty of the way of salvation by Christ." "By this is seen the true foundation of our duty," "and the amiableness of the duties themselves that are required of us." "And by this is seen the true evil of sin; for he who sees the beauty of holiness, must necessarily see the hatefulness of sin, its contrary." "And well may regeneration, in which this new sense is given to the soul by its Creator, be represented as opening the blind eyes, and raising the dead, and bringing a person into a new world." "And besides all the things that have already been mentioned, there arises from this sense of spiritual beauty all true experimental knowledge of religion, which is of itself as it were a new world of knowledge. He that sees not the beauty of holiness, knows not what one of the graces of God's Spirit is. He is destitute of every idea or conception of all the gracious exercises of the soul, and all holy comforts and delights, and all effects of the saving influences of the Spirit of God on the heart;" "and in effect is ignorant of the whole spiritual world." "This sort of understanding or knowledge is that knowledge of divine things from whence all truly gracious affections do proceed; by which, therefore, all affections are to be tried. Those affections that arise wholly from any other kind of knowledge, or do result from any other kind of apprehensions of mind, are vain."

And here we see with what propriety that which is given

in regeneration is called a "principle," that is, a beginning, a something to start from. It is not a new faculty, but a new idea, leading on to a world of new ideas, of a nature like its own, and even transforming into its own nature all the soul's former knowledge about divine things.

And this system of new spiritual ideas is a system of knowledge, and not of mere opinions; for his fifth criterion is,

"Truly gracious affections are attended with a reasonable and spiritual conviction of the judgment, of the reality and certainty of divine things."

Certainly, he who sees a truth intuitively must know it to be true; and must know all its logical consequences and applications to be true. This is no exclusive prerogative of geometry, but must equally hold good in all departments of knowledge. Edwards does not shrink from this view of the matter. "He that has his judgment thus directly convinced and assured of the divinity of the things of the gospel, by a clear view of their divine glory, has a reasonable conviction; his belief and assurance is altogether agreeable to reason; because the divine glory and beauty of divine things is in itself real evidence of their divinity, and the most direct and strong evidence. He that truly sees the divine, transcendent, supreme glory of those things which are divine, does as it were know their divinity intuitively. He not only argues that they are divine, but he sees that they are divine. He sees that in them wherein their divinity chiefly consists." And the possibility of this, and the reasonableness of supposing that there is an excellence in divine things which may be seen and by which they may be known, he argues carefully and fully. "Unless men may come to a reasonable, solid persuasion and conviction of the truth of the gospel by the internal evidence of it, in the way that has been spoken, viz. by a sight of its glory, it is impossible that those who are illiterate and unacquainted with history should have any thorough and effectual conviction of it at all." "But the gospel was not given only for learned men. There are at least nineteen in twenty, if not ninety-nine in a hundred, of those for whom the Scriptures were written, that are not capable of any certain or effectual

conviction of the divine authority of the Scriptures, by such arguments as learned men make use of." "Miserable is the condition of the Housatunnuck Indians," if they must wait till they understand such arguments. The proof from history, from its very nature, can never rise above probability. But it is unreasonable to suppose that God has provided for his people no more than probable evidence of the truth of the gospel. And if we come to fact and experience, there is not the least reason to suppose that one in an hundred of those who have been sincere Christians, and have had a heart to sell all for Christ, have come by their conviction of the truth of the gospel in this way." "The true martyrs of Jesus Christ are not those who have only been strong in the opinion that the gospel of Christ is true, but those that have seen the truth of it; as the very name, martyrs or witnesses (as they are called in Scripture), implies." This idea he so elaborates, that there can be no mistake as to his maintaining it.

After showing, as a sixth criterion, that "gracious affections are attended with evangelical humility," he shows, as the seventh, that

"Another thing wherein gracious affections are distinguished from others is, that they are attended with a change of nature."

On this point, the philosophical explanation and proof are not so fully and systematically elaborated as on some of the preceding; yet its scientific connexion with the principles already established is clearly indicated. "All gracious affections do arise from a spiritual understanding in which the soul has the excellency and glory of divine things discovered to it, as was shown before. But all spiritual discoveries are transforming, and not only make an alteration of the present exercise, sensation and frame of the soul, but such power and efficacy have they, that they make an alteration in the very nature of the soul." "Such power as this is properly divine power, and is peculiar to the Spirit of the Lord. Other power may make a great alteration in men's present frames and feelings, but it is the power of a Creator only, that can change the nature, or give a new nature; and

no discoveries or illuminatives but those that are divine and supernatural will have this supernatural effect."

Instead of following him in his quotations from Scripture and practical applications, let us look at the philosophical accuracy of the term "a change of nature." What is a nature? The definition may not be perfect, but will be enough for our present purpose, if we say that the laws of any creature's being, the laws which determine its existence and its action, are its nature. It is a law of an alkali that it shall, in certain circumstances, combine with oils and acids in certain proportions; and therefore we say with perfect propriety, it is the nature of an alkali so to combine. So it is the nature of the unrenewed man to think, to feel, to govern himself wholly according to those ideas which are not above nature. Even when he reads God's word, with no questioning of its authority, he receives from it no ideas of a higher kind than the natural man, in the use of his natural faculties, is capable of; and no feelings are excited except such as naturally flow from such ideas. In regeneration he is made, by the power of the Holy Spirit, acting supernaturally "in" his mind, intuitively to see truths that he never before saw; to see them with delight, with love for them; to see and know of a certainty that they are really true, really excellent, really divine. These "discoveries," commencing with one "new simple idea," shed a new light on all moral and religious subjects; on all his conceptions of duty and of sin. His former ideas on all these subjects, so far as they are not false, are taken up and transformed into new ideas; and these new ideas, seen with love and known to be real truth, transform his feelings and his life. And as these ideas do henceforth control his thinking, his feeling, and his acting on moral subjects, they are the laws of his moral being. They are his moral nature. His moral nature has been changed. He is a new creature. He is living a new life, which is different in its nature from his former life; and its commencement may well be called a birth.

The remainder of this Treatise, as well as much of the parts already considered, is occupied with the practical appli-

cation of these principles, so as to distinguish genuine religious affections from the spurious. An examination of it would be both interesting and seasonable ; but time and space confine us to a few remarks on this doctrine of regeneration. In these remarks, as in those which have preceded, our object will be, not to prove the truth of the doctrine of Edwards, but to show what doctrine he actually taught.

In the first place, then, according to Edwards, the act in the performance of which regenerate life commences, is not a volition, but an intuition. All holy affections, and of course all holy volitions, are the results of the "new simple idea;" the reception of which is the absolute beginning of spiritual life. And this new idea is not something which precedes regeneration, and from which regeneration may be made to follow by an act of the will, but, on the contrary, is itself the distinguishing characteristic of the regenerate man, so that he who has it is already regenerate. So widely do they differ from him, who make regeneration to consist in an act of the will.

The presence of that idea in the mind is not brought to pass by an act of the will of the natural man. Indeed, how can the natural man will to have that idea in his mind, when he does not know what that idea is? He is not hindered from seeing "the excellency of divine things as they are in themselves" by any want of power, for he has all the power with which he will see it when he becomes regenerate ; but he is hindered by the logical impossibility of thinking on a subject before that subject is present to his mind ; of forming an idea, which cannot be formed out of or derived from any or all the ideas he has, or ever had, or any other ideas of the same kind ; of *forming* a "simple idea" at all.

Even the awakening and convicting influences of the Holy Spirit, or any other work of the Spirit "on" the mind of the natural man, fail to impart that idea. Its presence is not the result of any effort which the natural man puts forth when thus excited and directed by the Spirit, acting "on" the mind as an external force. "The Spirit of God, acting upon the soul only, without communicating itself to be an active principle in it, cannot denominate it spiritual." It is

only when he "communicates himself in his own proper nature" to the minds of men, so as to "*exert* his proper nature in the acts and exercises of *their* minds," that they ever perceive the excellency of true holiness. That intuition is not the act of a mere human mind in the use of its natural powers, but the act of a mind to which the Holy Spirit has so "communicated himself" as to "exert his own proper nature" in its acts. It is a work of a higher kind than any to which the natural powers of the human soul, acting separately from the Holy Spirit, are applicable.

Nor, according to Edwards, is the Holy Spirit first given to the natural man, and then used by him, if he will, as a power by which that act may be performed. To the natural man, the Spirit is only an external force, acting "on" the mind from without, awakening, urging, impelling, and even revealing such things as the natural man can comprehend, as he did to Balaam. "Though he may influence them many ways, yet he never, in any of his influences, communicates himself to them in his own proper nature." Of course, the actings of their minds are theirs, and not his; and there is nothing supernatural, nothing above nature, in them. They are still "sensual, not having the Spirit."

Let none, then, preach to sinners, "Regenerate yourselves," and call their theology "Edwardean." According to Edwards, the regenerating act of the Holy Spirit, is the giving of an idea, and not the causing of a volition. This is sufficiently manifest from what has been already said. We mention it distinctly for the sake of calling attention to the fact, that in regeneration no constraint is put upon the will. A "discovery" is made to the mind, and the man acts voluntarily in the light of the truths discovered to him. Thus the difficulties are avoided, which attend the theory, that the Holy Spirit acts directly on the will, either compelling it to do what it would not if allowed to act freely, or strengthening it to do what it could not for want of sufficient power.

But it is said by some, that though the sinner cannot regenerate himself, yet he can do things that imply regeneration. He can repent; he can believe; he can love God; and by

doing these things he can become a regenerate man. This is not the theology of Edwards. Repentance is a "religious affection" in view of one's own sins; and "the true evil of sin" is seen only by him "who sees the beauty of holiness." Faith is, or at least implies, that "reasonable and spiritual conviction of the judgment of the reality and certainty of divine things" by which the saints "know their divinity intuitively." And "a true love to God must begin with a delight in His holiness," and therefore presupposes that idea of His moral excellence as supremely lovely in itself, which the natural man never has. In short, "a love to divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency," which is peculiar to the regenerate, "is the first beginning and spring of all holy affections." There is, therefore, no getting round regeneration, by doing other things which imply it. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit, communicating himself to the mind in his own proper nature, and thus discovering to it the excellence of divine things, is as indispensable to repentance and all other holy affections as to regeneration itself.

But it is thought, the doctrine of the sinner's entire dependence on the good pleasure of God for regeneration has a tendency to discourage him; and he must in some way be relieved from that discouragement that he may make efforts, and thus attain salvation. How does Edwards relieve him from that discouragement?

In no way whatever. He does not desire to relieve him; does not think that he ought to be relieved, or that relief would promote his conversion. He would have sinners feel, as he preached at Enfield, that they are "in the hands of an angry God," whose "mere pleasure" alone "keeps them at any one moment out of hell." "God glorified in man's dependence" is one of his favorite themes. In his "Narrative of Surprising Conversions" he says: "I think I have found that no discourses have been more remarkably blessed than those in which the doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty with regard to the salvation of sinners, and His just liberty with regard to answering the prayers or succeeding the pains of mere natural men, continuing such,

have been insisted on." Some, in these days, take directly the contrary course. They seek to prevent, or remove, or diminish the sinner's discouraging sense of absolute dependence on God, and to encourage and stimulate his efforts by convincing him that his own "natural ability" is adequate to the work of his conversion. Their practical theology on this point is precisely opposite to that of Edwards, and they ought to acknowledge it.

It is time to close, but we must first show how beautifully the doctrine of Edwards is illustrated by his own religious experience.

In the account written by himself he mentions two points in his experience, with some appearance of hesitation, whether his conversion should be dated from the first or second, though he evidently rests with much more confidence on the second. The first is described thus :

"From my childhood up my mind had been full of objections against the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life, and rejecting whom he pleased, leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell. It used to appear like a horrible doctrine to me. But I remember the time very well when I seemed to be convinced and fully satisfied as to this sovereignty of God, and His justice in thus eternally disposing of men according to His sovereign pleasure. But I never could give an account how, or by what means, I was thus convinced, not imagining at the time, nor a long time after, that there was any extraordinary influence of God's Spirit in it, but only that I now saw further, and my reason apprehended the justice and reasonableness of it. However, my mind rested in it, and it put an end to all those cavils and objections. And there has been a wonderful alteration in my mind with respect to the doctrine of God's sovereignty from that day to this, so that I scarce ever have found so much as the rising of an objection against it, in the most absolute sense, in God's showing mercy to whom He will show mercy, and hardening whom He will. God's absolute sovereignty and justice, with respect to salvation and damnation, is what my mind seems

to rest assured of, as much as anything that I see with my eyes. At least, it is so at times. But I have often, since that first conviction, had quite another kind of sense of God's sovereignty than I then had. I have often since had not only a conviction, but a delightful conviction. The doctrine has very often appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God. But my first conviction was not so."

This conviction, coming he knew not how, was in the nature of a "discovery," which he afterwards imagined was from some "extraordinary influence of God's Spirit;" but as it produced only acquiescence in the doctrine, and not such sensible delight in it as he afterwards had, he passes immediately to a more satisfactory experience:

"The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, 1 Tim. i. 17: 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.' As I read the words there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being; a new sense, quite different from anything I ever experienced before. Never any words of Scripture seemed to me as these words did. I thought with myself, how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be if I might enjoy that God, and be rapt up to him in heaven, and be as it were swallowed up in him for ever! I kept saying, and as it were singing over these words of Scripture to myself, and went to pray to God that I might enjoy him, and prayed in a manner quite different from what I used to do, with a new sort of affection. But it never came into my thought that there was anything spiritual, or of a saving nature, in this." "From about that time I began to have a new kind of apprehensions and ideas of Christ, and the work of redemption, and the glorious way of salvation by him. An inward, sweet sense of these things at times came into my heart, and my soul was led away in pleasant views and contemplations of them." "After this my sense of divine things gradually

increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of everything was altered. There seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in everything." And so on, more and more, for years, so beautiful that it is an act of self-denial not to quote it.

Now, it is perfectly evident from this account that Edwards did not first form or receive an idea of this change, and of the state into which it would bring him; then balance the motives in favor of it and against it; finding the former to predominate; and then, by an act or successive acts of his will, put forth for that purpose, bring it to pass. Instead of all this, he had no idea of such a state of mind till he found himself in it. It *came*; and after it had come, but not before, he knew what it was. And the foundation, "the first objective ground" of these new thoughts and affections was "the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things, as they are in themselves."

Every successful pastor must have noticed that many experiences are distinctly of this type. Few minds, indeed, are capable of an experience in all respects like that of Edwards. Very few have that poetic power which appears in his meditations on the beauty of holiness; but very many, like him, are conscious of a change which they did not preconceive, labor after and achieve, but which *came*. How it came they "could never give any account." They could only say that at, or gradually after, a certain time, God, his character, his government, his way of salvation, all appeared to them in a new light, and became objects of their adoring love. At the very first, this new view may have related only to some one point; to God's holiness, his justice, his goodness, his mercy; to the mediation of Christ, or some part of it, or, perhaps, to some one Christian duty; but it gradually spread itself over all, and invested all with the same kind of loveliness. Even when the new view at first is seen in connexion with some one duty, which the convert now is willing to perform, the same fundamental character

often appears in it distinctly. The duty, before repulsive, is now attractive; the decision to perform it is now easy. He cannot choose otherwise than to perform it. But this willingness was not made by his own effort: it *came* to him. He found himself willing.

And every successful pastor who has considered the subject has observed that such conversions are apt to "wear well." They result, oftener than other conversions, in a solid and enduring Christian character; a character which can stand the test of Edwards's twelfth and last criterion:

"Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice. I mean, they have that influence and power upon him who is the subject of them, that they cause that a practice which is universally conformed to and directed by Christian rules, should be the practice and business of his life."

ART. II.—THE UNITY OF MANKIND. *The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind.* By J. L. CABELL, M.D. With an Introductory Notice by James W. Alexander, D.D. New York: 344 pp. 12mo. Robert Carter and Brothers. 1859.

It seems to be too often forgotten, both by the timid believer and the boasting infidel, that Christianity rests upon its own proper internal and external evidences; evidences which have stood the testing and the sifting of ages only to gather accumulated strength with each succeeding century. Until these evidences are directly met, refuted, and annihilated, Christianity can never be wholly destroyed. Our holy religion is no tottering hypothesis, going about among the sciences, begging them, one after another, to furnish it some basis to rest upon. The edifice of Christian truth is founded on a solid rock, and its walls rise more massive and impregnable than any works of Cyclopean masonry. Science after science, as it has risen into notice and been built up, developed and strengthened by human genius and industry, has been brought

against Christianity, like one of those mighty and frowning towers that were used in ancient times in attacking the walls of cities; but brought against it only to be transformed, upon contact, into an additional buttress to its unshaken walls; not needed, indeed, for their support, but giving an *apparent* increase of strength to what it had threatened to overthrow. Such has been the history of the past; and such, there is no reason to doubt, will be the history of the future.

The work of Professor Cabell, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, consists of two essays, one on the Specific Unity, and the other on the Common Origin of Mankind, published originally as two articles in the Episcopal Quarterly Review, and now issued in an independent volume, with an introductory notice by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Alexander. We are glad to see the work in this separate form, and cordially wish it a wide circulation. It is a scientific treatise written in an eminently scientific, and, at the same time, a Christian spirit. From the Christian point of view, it neither dreads nor disparages science; and from the scientific point of view, it neither ignores nor contemns, insults nor assails Christianity. It has caught what we conceive to be the right tone of fearless faith, and, therefore, of fearless investigation. It has assumed and maintained what we hold to be the right position in regard to the essential and inevitable harmony between faith and facts, Scripture truth and scientific results. It was written, indeed, with some special view to the infidel sciolisms and flippant impertinences of certain works of Nott, Gliddon, and others, relating to the subject on which it treats; and it leaves them absolutely nothing to stand upon, in their impotent assaults upon the accredited facts of Revelation. Indeed, they had been sufficiently exposed and refuted before; they never had any scientific reputation among scientific men; and with all their bulk and pretensions, they are undoubtedly on the high road to oblivion, if they have not already reached the final goal. We speak of them as things already past. They contained a singular combination of sciolistic pedantry, infidel virulence, and political pamphleteering. We say, advisedly, *political pamphleteering*; for it is evident from their

whole tenor, and especially from their frequent sneers and tirades against "negrophilism" and "negrophilists," that their object in disputing the unity of mankind was, not only to give the lie to the doctrines and statements of the Christian Scriptures, but especially to show that the *negroes*, precisely the *negroes*, are of a different species and of a different stock from the *whites*; that they are inferior to Europeans, and naturally intended to be their servants. Extremes meet; and it would be interesting to know whether Garrisonian infidelity and its anti-slavery adjuncts have been adopted more widely, and by more respectable parties, at the North, or Gliddonian and Nottian infidelity with its anti-negrophilistic adjuncts at the South. The latter manifestly contained a bid for a slaveholding market. Perhaps it has not been accepted to any great extent, or by any respectable parties. We hope it has not; although Mr. Gliddon claimed J. C. Calhoun as an adherent to his doctrines.

But we leave this incidental aspect of the case. Theologians are, doubtless, liable to make mistakes; liable to make them in theology, liable still more to make them when meddling with scientific subjects, and treating them from a theological stand-point. They are liable to be timid at the sight of new difficulties and new problems, new comers and new assailants. They may sometimes become dogmatic, and even denunciatory. This is their weak side, and scientific men have taken full advantage of it. But because theology and theologians may err, science and *savans* are not infallible. They seem to us to be prone to two great mistakes. They assume that they have a right to enter the theological domain, and, in the light of their presumed scientific results, to control or contradict any statement of Scripture or received doctrine of Christianity, while the theologian is utterly disqualified until he has made a special study of science, as they have done, to attempt any refutation of their arguments or defence against them; forgetting that facts are one thing and reasoning another; and that other men, even theologians, may be as capable of passing a judgment upon a logical process as the scientific man himself. For every good

argument involves two points, the truth of the premises and the conclusiveness of the reasoning. Of the first point, in scientific matters, the scientific man must judge; but of the second, other men may be as well qualified to judge, and as able to dispute, as the scientific man himself. He may not answer a refutation of his logic by insisting that his opponent is not competent to judge of his facts. Facts are stubborn things, 'tis true, but they are harmless things also, unless you can draw some inferences or conclusions from them; and these, inferences or conclusions, if drawn, must be drawn according to the rules of reasoning. Even the scientific man, if he undertakes to reason, is amenable to the laws of logic. Another great mistake, to which our later *savans* seem quite as prone as were their so much decried predecessors, is that of setting up hypotheses and inventing theories, and then assuming these to be just as incontrovertible as the facts of the half-finished inductions on which they were founded; and this, too, notwithstanding all that is so complacently said about the wonderful progress of modern science under the guidance and laws of the Baconian method; and notwithstanding, too, the daily experience that these scientific theories and hypotheses are as changing and shifting as the sands of the African syrtis.

The arguments of Nott, Gliddon & Co. amount substantially to these: (1) The Bible teaches the unity of the human race, therefore it is false; (2) Theology and "theologians" believe in this unity, therefore it is false; (3) Infidels are inclined to deny it, therefore it is not true. All such arguments we let pass without further remark.

The argument most commonly relied upon against the unity of mankind is the following:

Distinct species must have diverse origins;

Mankind consist of distinct species;

Mankind have diverse origins.

Now, both these premises may be admitted, each in an accredited sense, and yet the conclusion will not follow; for we have here the fallacy of the ambiguous middle; the term *species* is taken in different senses in the major and minor pre-

mises. If the major premiss is assumed as self-evident, or if its truth can be shown by any evidence or reasoning whatever, it can be only by taking the term *species* in a sense according to which the truth of the minor premiss could never be established. And, on the other hand, there is no process by which the minor premiss can be established without assuming a sense of the term *species* according to which the major premiss would fall to the ground. If all the present races of men can mingle prolifically together, they *may* all have descended from a common origin, *so far as species is concerned*; even though you may choose to group them into ever so many *species* so-called. And even if all the races may not mingle indiscriminately with equal readiness, affinity or fertility, still they may all be from a common origin. Though A (for example) may refuse to mingle directly with X, it may yet be genetically connected with it through intermediate members; for if, for aught that appears, A may have descended from the same as B, B from the same as C, C as D, D as E, and so on to X, then A may have descended from the same as X. Dr. Nott expressly admits and maintains, among dogs, the perfect prolificacy of the cross breeds of what he calls distinct *species*. And if this is a fact, of course there must be some argument *besides that of diversity of species* to show that they are not derived from a common origin. But our argument of intermediate connexions, above enunciated, must not be supposed to lead to the development or Lamarckian theory. For all the various species (so-called) of dogs may be thus genetically connected; and all the various species (so-called) of men, likewise; and that they are so connected is the undeniable fact. Still, it will by no means follow, it has never been shown to be the fact, and never will be, that the species of men, or any of them, can be so connected with the species of dogs or any of them, or with the species of monkeys or any of them, in any way however long and round-about, or by interposing any number of intermediate members, however great. The truth is, our naturalists have gained nothing by tinkering upon the word *species*. No new doctrines can be established, and no new facts ascer-

tained, by arbitrarily giving a new signification to words. If the genetic unity of mankind could not be proved from the doctrine of *species*, except by a *petitio principii* (and we admit that it could not), no more can it be disproved from any modification of that doctrine except by the fallacy of the ambiguous middle.

Professor Dana, in his "Thoughts on Species"—an elaborate and exquisitely beautiful essay—has proposed to enlarge the definition of *species* by giving it a more abstract form, so that it may be applied equally in all the kingdoms of nature. "A species among living beings," he says, "as well as among inorganic bodies, is based on a *specific amount or condition of concentrated force defined in the act or law of creation.*" This definition, if, indeed, it were really meant for a *definition*, may be quite accurate, scientific and profound; but, for any practical purpose or logical application, it seems to amount to little more than saying that a species is a species, or that a species is based upon specific conditions, or that specific differences are determined by some specific cause. What the definition contains beyond this, is theory or hypothesis. It is plain that it can afford us no help in distinguishing or ascertaining species; for this basis of "a specific amount or condition of concentrated force defined in the act or law of creation" can never be given us first, so that, from it, we may proceed to deduce or infer distinctions of species; but the species must always be first determined in some way, if not by the history and known genetic relations, by the comparison and grouping of individuals (a method which Professor Dana seems to reject), then in some other way; and the basis afterwards inferred or assumed for it. Nor, unless we were present at the process of creation, could we determine from this definition anything whatever in regard to the unity or plurality of the origins of the several species. Nor, after we have made a preliminary determination of a species as best we may, can we then apply this *basis* as a *test*; for the existence of the basis itself is neither given beforehand, nor is it capable of being reached afterwards *in actual experience*, but it is known merely from hypothetical or analogical inference.

The process practically is this: not, if we have this *basis* given we can infer a distinct species, but, if we have a distinct species ascertained, we can infer this basis; we can *infer* this basis as a theoretic, necessary condition, not *find* it *experimentally*, and thus *test* our work. And so the definition labors under the disadvantage of being more difficult than the theory to define; the basis is to be found after the structure is built; nor yet exactly *found*, not seen or felt, but presumed certainly to exist, *because* the structure exists. But, after all, if Professor Dana had not enlarged his definition so as to include inorganic species, if he had restricted his attention to living beings, he would not probably have diverged much from the old, common *idea* of species, in which was always implied the presumable, or at least possible, descent from one common stock; the *fact* of this descent being left to be determined, if determined at all, historically. Under this view, the test of the unity of a species was, that there should be nothing in the physiological character or history of its members to *forbid* the idea of their genetic unity. The *fact* of this genetic unity might be rendered more or less probable, but could never be properly proved, on purely physiological or scientific grounds (that is to say, without a *petitio principii*), but was remanded to the domain of external historical evidence.

After all that has been said, or can be said, about species, the question of this fact remains, and must remain, in that domain still. It is properly a question of external historical evidence, and not a matter of scientific inquiry at all.

Particularly in regard to the genetic unity of mankind, we boldly take the position that it is a historical, and not a scientific question. If that unity is established upon historical testimony, direct or indirect, established upon the testimony of witnesses historically shown to be credible, no physical science can overthrow it except by adducing facts which show it to be absolutely impossible or incredible. Scientific inferences, or theories, or hypotheses, or analogies, which may clash with it, however plausible or probable in themselves, cannot destroy, or even much diminish, the weight of its proper evi-

dence. Science never more completely misses her vocation than when she undertakes, scientifically, to refute historical facts; forgetting that she herself has no better basis than *facts* to rest upon. And yet Professor Agassiz and others, we would speak with all due deference and with sincere personal regard, seem to us to have fallen into this mistake.

Some other species of animals, some fishes for example, probably have multiple origins, says Mr. Agassiz, *therefore probably man has*. If this premiss were certainly established, the conclusion would follow, *provided always* another premiss were admitted, viz. that whatever is true of the mode of origin, propagation, distribution, &c., of any species of fishes, is true of all species of animals, and particularly of the human race. Is this self-evident? It is to be observed, moreover, that this argument for the plurality of human origins is entirely independent of the phenomena of varieties, and would be equally conclusive, if all the races of men were as much alike as the English and the Americans. Nevertheless, this is the application which some would make of the argument: "Some species of animals have multiple origins, therefore, whatever evidence there may be from divine revelation, or from human history, for the original unity of mankind must be false."

But again, it is scientifically (?) argued: "Men now exist in nations and families, distributed over the face of the earth; therefore, they were created in nations and families at first, and distributed as they now are." This theory would require more miracles, not only for the creation but for the preservation of so many multitudes, than the most credulous theologian ever asked for or dreamed of. Besides, it would be quite as good an argument to say, "All men of whom we have any knowledge have been born of woman, and have generally grown from infancy to manhood, therefore this has always been the case." Indeed, were it not for Palaeontology, would not our modern science insist upon the indefinite antiquity of the human race, in spite of all evidence from the Biblical history to the contrary? Such seems to have been the view of Wm. Von Humboldt.

Take other instances of scientific, or analogical reasoning set against historical facts. Suppose our naturalists and physiologists should examine the swine, sheep, and black cattle of the West Indies and South America, with their new, strange and almost monstrous varieties; would they not judge it quite improbable that these were propagated from European stocks, were it not for the known history of the discovery and settlement of America? And yet, what becomes of this scientific improbability in the face of the existing history?

There are at present abundance of pickerel in the ponds on both sides of the Kennebec river, in Maine. Now, if no natural communication could be imagined between these ponds, would not our scientific men say that a stock of pickerel was probably created on each side of the river? or, if the communication between the two sides seemed easy, would it not be said that the fish probably passed of their own accord from one side to the other? And yet, the man is now living who knows when there were no pickerel on the west side of the river, and who first carried them to the Cobossee ponds himself.

We have assumed all along that the common parentage of mankind is taught in the Scriptures, and therefore is sustained by all the historical evidence by which their authority is sustained. But what the real doctrine of the Scriptures is, remains, of course, an open question, a question to be examined and settled, however, on its own proper philological and historical evidence. Professor Agassiz has entered upon this discussion, and has endeavored to show on exegetical, historical and general philological grounds, that such is not the doctrine of Scripture or the testimony of philology. But certainly no theologian ever made a more awkward figure in the fields of science, than he, in the departments of Biblical interpretation, and linguistic discussion. In his lucubrations upon language he entirely misses the point of the argument for an original unity of human speech, and a consequent genetic unity of man. He quite confounds natural and artificial language. Nobody that we know of ever supposed

that the genetic unity of the human race could be inferred from the fact that all men use the same *tones*, as in asking a question for example, or even produce substantially the same elementary articulate sounds. A common nature and a common organization might account for this, without supposing any common descent or historical connexion. But the striking correspondences that are found to exist in the vocabularies and grammars, in the material and structure of artificial languages, are quite a different thing, and demand quite a different explanation. This kind of language men learn from one another, and do not derive from natural instinct. It is true that each species of animals has its natural language, and so has man. Each bird has its peculiar note. Ducks quack even though hatched and brought up with chickens; crows caw; hens cluck, and the peacock screams. It may be "as natural for men to *speak* as it is for a dog to bark, for an ass to bray, for a lion to roar, for a wolf to howl." But there is no particular artificial language which men speak naturally without imitation and instruction, *i. e.* without external historical influence, and mutual intercourse. A Chinese infant brought up in England would not speak Chinese, but English.

Finally, the argument against the unity of mankind is sometimes put in this form: "The unity of man's origin cannot be scientifically proved; therefore, a multiplicity of origins must be admitted." This argument, of course, goes upon the broad assumption that whatever cannot be scientifically proved is false. But, even then, the conclusion does not follow. We fully admit that the unity of man's origin cannot be scientifically proved; but neither can a multiplicity of origins be scientifically proved; and yet, one or the other of these positions must be true, if man have any origin at all. The truth is, as we have said, this whole question of origins is properly and exclusively a question of *historical fact*. Independently of this historical evidence, or entirely ignoring it, science may indeed have her guesses, her hypotheses, her presumptions, or her opinions, upon this subject. And taking the subject in this point of view, leaving

the Scripture doctrine and evidence out of the account altogether, we are inclined to think that the best and most numerous scientific authorities are found on the side of the probable genetic unity of our race; and more and more decidedly so, the more the subject is impartially investigated. And thus, on the whole, the results of science confirm the teaching of religion. We sincerely regret that the honored name of Professor Agassiz should be associated with those of such men as Nott, Gliddon and their compeers, on the other side. But, on the whole, we do not understand that Professor Agassiz regards the multiplicity of human origins as scientifically demonstrated, or the probable evidence for it such that he would not readily, and could not consistently yield the point, *if he thought the genetic unity of man to be distinctly taught or necessarily implied in the Christian Scriptures*. We do not understand that he, for a moment, arrays himself against the Scriptures. Professor Agassiz, after all, therefore, leaves the real gist of the argument just where we insist it must lie, in the field, not of scientific investigation, but of Biblical exegesis, and historical or philological inquiry. And in these fields of inquiry his *authority* would hardly be considered greater than that of experienced linguists, and professed students of history, criticism and Biblical interpretation.

ART. III.—SAWYER'S VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament, translated by LEICESTER AMBROSE SAWYER. Boston, 1858.

THIS professes to be a "literal and accurate" translation of the New Testament, "without conjecture or compromise," into the "living language of to-day;" an "improvement" upon the common English version; proposed partly as a

valuable "contribution to Biblical science," but chiefly intended, "under God's blessing, to be a still more important contribution to practical religion." The eminent qualifications of Mr. Sawyer for the task he has undertaken are vouched for in strong terms by such men as doctors Thompson, Gannett, Jenks, Bacon and Dutton.

We have carefully looked through the whole performance, and we must frankly own, that, were it not for the sacredness of the subject matter, the sanction which the author receives from such names as those we have referred to, and the threat of more of the same kind to follow, we should not have considered the affair worthy of even a passing notice.

Our common English version of the New Testament undoubtedly has its defects and blemishes; though we believe them to be few and unimportant. With them all, we believe it to be, on the whole, without a parallel as a complete translation into our mother tongue. That Mr. Sawyer may have made slight corrections or improvements in some passages we freely admit. No extraordinary scholarship was required for that. But the general effect upon our own mind of wading through his whole performance has been greatly to increase and strengthen our veneration, admiration and love for the received translation,—for the good old form of words that sounded so sweet and holy in childhood's ears, and which has echoed along the chambers of memory, gathering new associations of reverence and affection every hour even to the present time. If we disliked the idea of change before, that dislike has now been increased to an intense loathing. If it be our part, as wise men,

"rather to bear the ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of,"

shall we be such fools as to fly to those which we see to be a hundredfold greater than what we have?

The great cry that is made by Mr. Sawyer and others about Tischendorf and his vast discoveries and improvements in the text of the Greek Testament, we know not whether to cha-

racterise chiefly as the trick of a showman or the pedantry of an ignoramus. It is one or the other.

The substitution in the English version of "you" for "thou," of *s* for *th* in verbal terminations, of "have" for "be" with a certain class of neuter verbs, of "wish" or "please" for "will," of "eat" for "ate," and the like, and the transferring bodily into the English text from the Greek, (or rather from the margin of the common version,) of the original names of coins, weights and measures, together with a full decimal expression of their estimated value in modern American denominations, will be regarded by most scholars as downright vulgarity and pedantry; as for example, "neither do men light a candle and put it under a *modius* [1·916 gallon measure];" "and there were six stone water jars there, placed for the purification of the Jews, containing two or three *metretres* [16·75 or 25·125 gallons] each." To most readers such "living language of to-day" will seem very strange and awkward. In our opinion it is all in shockingly bad taste. But of that we will not dispute. It certainly will not be affirmed that these changes are any great "contribution to Biblical science." Any printer would have required but a slight general direction to have made them all. Yet these are among the most vaunted, patent and pervading "improvements" of this new version.

Mr. Sawyer also proposes "to avoid all unnecessary indelicacy" in the translation. But in carrying out this design he has, we think, in a majority of cases, either falsified the text, or replaced the elevated tone of its unconscious, archaic simplicity, with the degrading associations of a vulgar fastidiousness. For example, instead of "wo unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days," he delicately substitutes, "woe to those with child, and *giving nurse* in those days." Thus, in this *improved* translation he has not only, by a puerile change of construction, missed or perverted the plain grammatical sense of the original, so faithfully represented in the common version; but he has substituted, for a good, proper, correct, English word, a miserable euphemism belonging solely to the dialect of the kitchen and

the nursery. This is no casual slip of the translator, but everywhere Mr. Sawyer makes his children *nurse* their mothers instead of the mothers nursing their children. We only wonder that he did not, by way of consistency, substitute *pregnancy*, or *being enceinte*, for being with child. As it is, he has only shown the consequence of "putting a piece of new, raw or unwrought, (see com. vers. and marg.,) or (as he says) *unfulled* cloth (or *rag*=ρακίς) upon an old garment."

In the comments which have been made in various quarters upon this new translation, attention has been directed chiefly to the earlier books of the New Testament. We propose, in confirmation of the general tone of our remarks, to give, from the subsequent portions of the work, some miscellaneous illustrations of the character of Mr. Sawyer's scholarship, and of this *literal* and *exact* translation; and leave the whole to the judgment of our readers.

"All things existed through him, and without him not one thing existed which existed." *Existed* for *were made* = ἐγένετο = *wurden* (not *waren* or *da waren*), = *fiabant* (not *erant* or *fuerunt*, or *existebant*, or *exstiterunt*). "Fuit Troja." Did not the "learned translator" know the distinction between γίγνομαι and εἶμι?

"A will of the flesh, a will of man," for "the will," &c. How did he ascertain that *will* was here regarded as a *discrete* quantity?

"An only child with a father" for "the only begotten Son of the Father!"

"Became an unborn infant of his mother" for "enter into his mother's womb." Is this "the living language of to-day?" Who ever heard the phrase before? Delicacy we think has become the mother of invention. "Authority and judgment to execute" for "authority to execute judgment, also" = ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιεῖν. Neither grammar nor the context will allow this construction.

"My flesh is the true food," for "my flesh is meat indeed" = ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν βρώσις. There is no article in the Greek.

"He having sent me is with me," for "He that sent me is with me" = ὁ πέμψας με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν.

"Who is he, sir, *that I shall* believe?" for "that I might believe?" Did the learned translator think that πιστεύσω was indicative future? But were it so, it would not make his English any the less a solecism.

"He lifted his eyes above," another solecism, for "lifted up his eyes."

"Treasure-chest," for "bag" = γλωσσόκομον.

"Carried off," for "bare" = ἐβάσταζεν. Does he suppose that Judas robbed the "treasure-chest" of its contents, because he had no wagon, or other conveyance, wherein to carry so heavy a thing?

"As I also am in them," for "and I am in them" = καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς. His "*as*" is interpolated, apparently from mistaking ἥ which precedes for ἡ. With such exquisite exactitude of literalness is the common version to be "*improved!*" Such an oversight, indeed, would be no great matter, were it not a professed *emendation*.

"Then Annas sent him bound to Caiaphas," for "*now* Annas had sent," &c. This "then" is either a totally unauthorized interpolation, or given as a translation of οὖν. Tischendorf puts οὖν in the margin, and Sawyer leaves "then" without brackets. It is therefore probably intended as a *translation*, and if so, especially as the same translation is elsewhere several times repeated, it is enough of itself to stamp the scholarship of the translator.

"Lord, you know that I am a friend to you," for "thou knowest that I love thee" = φιλῶ σε.

"Says the Lord," is one of the formulas which the learned translator hopes, under the blessing of God, will promote practical religion. And, again, "Lord, . . . *if you please*, we will make here three tabernacles," = εἰ θέλεις ποιήσωμεν. Note, also, the "*improvement*" in the mood of the last verb.

"One that shears him," for "his shearer" = τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν.

When Jesus appears to Saul, and afterwards to Ananias, Mr. Sawyer makes them talk to each other very politely with *you—you*; "who are you?" says Saul; why did he not also, in accordance with "the living language of to-day," insert *Mr. So-and-so*?

"What is wanted? Lord," for "what is it? Lord." If he had put *Sir* for *Lord*, as consistency would require, we might have inferred even more certainly than now, that Cornelius was brought up a waiter in some modern hotel.

"Quadrupeds and reptiles," for "four-footed beasts and creeping things."

"Can any forbid water that these should be baptized?" for "should *not* be baptized." The common version is both literal and logical; Mr. Sawyer's is neither.

"*Proseuche*," for "place of prayer," and a little further on, "prefects," and "lictors," and "proconsuls," and "procurators," &c. ; all for God to bless to the edification of common readers!

"Strange demons," for "*gods or divinities*" (Acts xvii. 18); thus, by a literal rendering, falsifying the sense.

"For we are *his* offspring. Being therefore *an* offspring of God." Thus does the "learned translator" show his superiority to King James's forty-seven, in a critical knowledge of the laws of the Greek article, and a consistent application of them.

Acts xxi. 24. "Not correct," for "nothing" = οὐδέν.

"Baptize and wash away your sins." He had told us before of "baptizing beds, and sextuses" [1½ pint measures], but he seems to have thought it for the interest of practical religion that men should learn to *baptize their sins*! βάπτισαι = "be baptized," or *cause thyself to be baptized*. The "learned translator," if he understands English, must have taken this for the active voice!

"A son of Paul's sister," for "Paul's sister's son" = ὁ υἱός, &c.

"Man," for "men," = τοὺς ἀνδράποους (Acts xxiv. 20). "Them," for "these same here," = αὐτοὶ οὗτοι. These are specimens of what is called "exact, literal rendering." Besides, the "them" in this last case must refer to a wrong antecedent, and thus make just the sense which the apostle did *not* mean to convey.

"Statement which I made," for "voice which I cried" = φωνῆς ἧς ἔκκραξα. Acts xxv. 4, 5, Οὖν again, twice translated as an *adverb of time*; "then Festus," &c.

"By me," for "before me" = ἐπ' ἐμοῦ; "by me," again interpolated (Acts xxv. 9, 20).

"Departing," for "going aside,"—wrong.

Now = η, is omitted (Acts xxvii. 9).

"The island," for "an island" = νησίον τι.

"To save" (i. e. *avoid*), for "to gain; (i. e. *get*) "this loss" = κερδήσαι. The common version has here a very neat combination of exact translation and idiomatic English.

"And falling on a place with a sea on both sides," for "a place where two seas met;" a curious idea!

"Proceeding," for "fetching a compass" = περιελθόντες.

"A soldier to guard him," for "that kept him" = φυλασσόντα.

"Convened," for "come together."

"You know how we exhorted and comforted you, as a father each one of his own children," for "how we exhorted and comforted each one of you as a father doth his children" = οἶδατε ὡς ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ὡς πατηρ τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. Such is Tischendorf's text, just like the Textus Receptus; and such the common version. By what rules of grammar does the "learned translator" make out his literal rendering?

"Came to you," for "were with you" = πρὸς . . . ἡμεν. He must have thought it was ἡμεν, although ἡμεν is not found in the N. T.

"Cuirass," for "breastplate" = θώρακα, another contribution to practical religion! So, "association" for "company," "operated" for "wrought," "society" for "fellowship," "impede" for "hinder," "supervened" for "entered," and "compressed" for "narrow is the way which leadeth unto life." "Preach you," for "preach to you" (Gal. i. 8). "Obey," for "persuade" = πείθω, i. e. *make friends of* (Gal. i. 10). Such is his critical knowledge of Greek *voices*! "Gave me being," for "separated me from my mother's womb." "A righteousness" = εἰς δικαιοσύνην. "In Christ," for "into Christ" = εἰς. "Really," for "by nature" = φύσει. "Knew," for "know" = οἶδατε.

"I have fed you milk, not solid food," for "with milk, not with meat."

"He that commits fornication sins in his body," for "against his own body" = εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα. It would seem that

a man is not out of his body when he commits other sins. In the same place he confounds *crime* with *sin*. "The called freeman," a solecism, for "he that is called being a free-man." "For even if I should boast *some* of our authority," for "boast somewhat more" = περισσότητον τι καυχ. Such are the "improvements" resulting from *literal* translation into "the living language of to-day," for the promotion of "practical religion!" No wonder a man should be "*some*" vain of his performance who can make such emendations.

"Not lawful for man to speak," instead of "for a man to utter" = ἀνθρώπῳ, no article. "We wish to God," for "we pray God" = εὐχόμεθα. "By faith *in the* faith," for "from faith to faith" = ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν; i. e. perhaps, from God's faith to man's faith, or, from a faithful God to believing man.

"An acknowledgment of sin," for "the knowledge of sin" = ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρ. Article inconsistent—meaning false; it is the becoming conscious, the coming to one's senses, the consciousness, the *knowledge* of sin. "A father of us all," for "the father of us all." Nonsense. "The present," for "now the" = νῦν τῇν. "The gift was from many sins to a *righteous ordinance*" = εἰς δικαίωμα. A dark passage is thus made so plain that doubtless "practical religion" will be greatly promoted. "He that died was justified from sin," for "he that is dead is freed from sin" = ὁ ἀποθανὼν δεδικαίωται κ. τ. λ. Did *Christ* need justification from sin? or to whom does this *historical fact* refer? "Tax to whom tax, toll to whom toll." "An increase of God," for "*the* increase of God" = τὴν αὐξ. τ. θ.

"Feel," for "handle" = θίγης (Col. i. 21). If he had said "take, taste, *touch* not," it might have been well; for ἄπτω = capio, *hasten*, grasp, seize, take θίγω = tango, touch, touch gently. "Feel," i. e. *feel of*, is here in bad taste, as well as ambiguous and obscure. Yet we find this word similarly employed in this translation several times.

"These are the only co-laborers who," for "these only are my fellow-workers, who." Here the sense is spoiled by his new construction, a construction which could have arisen only from his confounding ὅσους with ὧς.

"Transcendent," for "exceeding;" "polity," for "commonwealth;" "resulted," for "fallen out;" "myths," for "fables;" "interminable," for "endless;" "estimate the expense," for "count the cost."

"With all prayer," for "in every thing by prayer,"=ἐν παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ. Evidently King James's forty-seven had not learned the modern rules of syntax.

"A husband (for '*the* husband') of one wife." Might, then, the one wife be the wife (or rather *a* wife) of *another* husband?

"Philanthropy of the Saviour our God," for "kindness of God our Saviour towards man." So then, in "the language of to-day" God our Saviour has become a *philanthropist*.

"A law," for "*the* law" (1 Tim. i. 9). So, often elsewhere. But νόμος=law; and *law* is no more *a* law than it is *the* law; in like manner *grace* is no more *a* grace than it is *the* grace; so of faith, hope, &c.

"Has a sickly longing for," for "doating about"=νόσων, i. e. being ill or unsound in mind, or insane, about; riding hobbies, *doating*.

"A root (for *the* root) of all evil." This is one of Mr. Sawyer's pet illustrations of a large class of "improvements;" but, after all, ῥίζα without article, is just as much *the* root as it is *a* root; if it has not one article, neither has it the other.

"An error of [*his*] way," for "the error of his way"=πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ. A very painstaking blunder.

"The grass has withered and its flower fell off," for "the grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away." The Greek has the aorist alike for both verbs, and in both cases it is used indefinitely like our present.

"*Breakers* at your love-feasts," for "*spots* in your feasts of charity"=σπιλάδες i. e. probably *jagged* or *sunken rocks*, not σπιλοι, "spots," and certainly not "breakers." "The learned translator" had only got a little beyond his depth.

"He has more honor than the house [tabernacle] which he built," for "he who hath builded the house hath more honor than the house,"=πλείονα τιμὴν ἔχει τοῦ οἴκου ὃ κατασκεύασας αὐτόν. Such is Tischendorf's text, and such the "improved" version.

"Leaving the account of the beginning of Christ," for "leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ" = τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ χρ. λόγον. Had the apostle, then, said that Christ had a *beginning*? and is the fact, or the account, of this *beginning* to be the starting point of Christian doctrine?

"And already has appeared," for "now to appear" = νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι. The common version is literal, grammatical, intelligible and correct.

"Had each six wings *apiece*," for "had each six wings *about him*." Here Tischendorf differs from the received text. But surely no *reasonable* text could authorize such English as that.

"Fine linen represents the righteous ordinances of the saints" = τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν. If this *represents* the Greek, all we have to say is, it *is* Greek to us still.

"In the midst of *its broad plain*," for "of the street of it" = τῆς πλατειᾶς αὐτῆς (Rev. xxii. 2). To what does *its* (*its broad plain*) refer? to water, to river, or to life? By its gender, only to the last, if to either of these three; and that would be nonsense. And if it refer to neither of them, but to *city*, (as it doubtless does,) then, what is the "*broad plain*" of a city? a sort of Spanish *vega*? πλατεία commonly means a *street*, a *broadway*; why not here?

But there is positively no end to these blunders, or beauties and improvements, if our doctors in divinity choose to call them so, in Mr. Sawyer's work. Among his other improvements in terminology which God is expected to bless as "important contributions to practical religion"—are *cranium*, *chiliarchs*, *iris*, *obliterate*, *assimilate*, *aliments*, *sabbatism*, *perceptive faculties* (!) &c., &c.

We will add finally an entire passage, which has been placed in our hands by a friend of Mr. Sawyer, as a particularly advantageous specimen of this whole work. It is 1 John v. 1-4.

SAWYER.

COMMON VERSION.

Every one who believes that Jesus is the Christ, has been born of God; and every one who loves the

1. Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; and every one that loveth him that

SAWYER.

Father, loves also the Son who is born to him. By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments. For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous; for every child that has been born of God overcomes the world, &c.

COMMON VERSION.

begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him. 2. By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments. 3. For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous. 4. For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world, &c.

Now we observe (1.) that, in the 3rd and 4th verses, Sawyer exactly agrees with the Common Version, and is correct; and such a coincidence, through so great a space, is, we think, a thing of rare occurrence. (2.) *Believers* for "believeth," *lovers* for "loveth," and *every one who* for "whosoever," may be matters of taste, about which we will not further dispute, only noting, as we pass, that *whosoever* avoids the repetition of *every one who* in the first verse. (3.) *Has been born* for "is born," in the first verse, may seem to some to be the more literal, the Greek being a *perfect* passive. But, in reality, this is not so, for the English *is born* is a *perfect* as well as *has been born*; and, besides, the translator has himself given up all claim to even this seeming advantage, for he has given *is born* in the first verse, and *has been born* in the fourth verse, as translations of the same Greek word. (4.) The translation, "Every one who loves the Father, loves also the Son who is born to him," besides not being literal, as the Common Version is, implies and conveys, with its capitals, a total misapprehension of the meaning of the passage. *To him*, awkward English as it is, for *of him*, is the translation of ἐξ αὐτοῦ ! (5.) "Whatsoever is born of God," is a *literal* and intelligible translation of the 4th verse; Mr. Sawyer substitutes "every child that has been born of God;" from which it will logically follow, that the Apostle included only *children*, and not full grown men, in his proposition; for he does not say, "every one who has been born a child of God," but "every child that has been born," &c.

But perhaps it is too much to expect, in a man that under-

takes to give the world an improved translation of the whole Bible, and critical editions of the Hebrew and Greek texts, that he should know the difference between the functions of the subject and of the predicate of a proposition.

We here leave this "Improved Translation," earnestly deprecating any further contributions of the same sort to the cause of Biblical science and practical religion. And as for those "learned theologians," who, by their commendation of this work, have done what they could to make American scholarship the laughing-stock of the world, we leave them to bear the responsibility, or to escape from their awkward position as best they can. In our humble opinion, the sooner they confess their sins, the better. But, of course, we cannot ask them to *repent* until they have "*changed their minds*" in regard to Mr. Sawyer's merits.

ART. IV.—THE BLACK DEATH IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, from the German of J. F. C. HECKER, M. D. Translated by B. G. BABINGTON, M. D. Reprinted by the Sydenham Society, London, 1846. 8vo., pp. 380.

"THE Black Death," as it was called in the northern kingdoms of Europe, and in Italy "the Great Mortality," was one of the most frightful scourges known in history. Commencing its ravages in China, it went as far westward as Iceland and Greenland, sweeping three continents in its desolating march, and destroying, within a very few years, about one-third of the whole human race. So wasting a pestilence, synchronizing in Europe with the foulest corruptions of the papal church, and related, as it can be shown to have been, to that deepening of the religious life in many quarters, which paved the way for the Reformation in the sixteenth century, would seem to have special claims upon the attention of all students of ecclesiastical history. And yet very

few persons, even amongst those who are generally well-informed, appear to know much about it. How should they? Our most popular historians have either passed over it in utter silence, or have bestowed upon it only the briefest possible notice.

Froissart, in his *Chronicles*, alludes to it in this wise: "This year of our Lord, 1349, there came from Germany [into England] persons who performed public penitencies by whipping themselves with scourges having iron hooks, so that their backs and shoulders were torn: they chaunted also, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and sufferings of our Saviour, and could not, by their rules, remain in any town more than one night; they travelled in companies of more or less in number, and thus journeyed through the country, performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years Jesus Christ remained on earth, and then returned to their own homes. These penitencies were thus performed, to intreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for, at this period, an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants."* The slightness of this allusion is certainly remarkable, when we consider that Froissart must have been some eleven or twelve years of age when the pestilence first struck Europe, and, after witnessing its ravages in France, must have seen its effects, and heard the dismal traditions of it in the several kingdoms over which he afterwards travelled, like another Herodotus, so industriously. Sir Richard Baker, in his "*Chronicle of the Kings of England*," first published in 1641, and the favorite manual of English history till superseded by the work of Hume, is somewhat more communicative. In his account of the life and reign of Edward III. (1327-77) he says: "In the two and twentieth year of his reign, a contagious pestilence arose in the east and south parts of the world and spread itself all over Christendom; and coming at last into England, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive. There died in London (some say in Norwich) between the

* Bohn's edition of Froissart's *Chronicles*. London, 1855; vol. i. p. 200.

first of January and the first of July, 57,374 persons. In Yarmouth, in one year, 7052 men and women; before which time the parsonage there was worth 700 marks a year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a year. This plague began in London about Alhallowtide, in the year 1348, and continued till the year 1357. When it was observed, that those who were born after the beginning of this mortality had but twenty-eight teeth, when before they had two-and-thirty."* Hume disposes of the matter in a single paragraph, citing Stow's "Survey of London" (first published in 1598) as his authority for the statement, that above fifty thousand souls perished of the plague in London alone, and adding: "This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state through which it passed."† Hallam, we believe, nowhere makes any mention of this great calamity. Nor is it mentioned even by Vaughan in his life of Wycliffe, although the tract entitled "The Last Age of the Church," written in 1356, and commonly attributed, whether rightly or not, to Wycliffe, was evidently called forth by this fearful visitation. Hecker speaks of Barnes as having given a lively picture of the plague in his "History of Edward III.," London, 1688; but this is a work which few of our readers probably have ever seen.

Of the disease itself, though mainly for the purposes of medical science, contemporary descriptions have not indeed been wanting. The diagnosis of it is given in the "History" of the Greek Emperor John Cantacuzenus, whose son Andronicus died of this plague at Constantinople in 1348. A description of it was also written by the father of modern surgery, the French Chauliac, who was himself attacked by the malady when it was raging in Avignon. Its ravages in Florence were portrayed very vividly by Boccacio in his Decameron. But in our own language there was nothing to appease the curiosity of the inquisitive, until in 1833 the little work of Dr.

* Baker's Chronicle, London, 1684, p. 181.

† Hume's History of England, chapter 16.

Hecker of Berlin, the title of which heads the present article, which had appeared the year previous in Germany, was rendered into English. In 1834 Dr. Babington also translated and published "The Dancing Mania." And now we have, in one of the volumes of the Sydenham Society, along with the two treatises already mentioned, a third treatise not previously given, entitled "The Sweating Sickness," which completes the series of Hecker's "Epidemics of the Middle Ages." It is this volume, not likely to fall in the way of many of our readers, which has at once suggested the present article, and furnished the materials for it. In regard to the author of these singularly interesting treatises, it may be remarked, that he is one of the most accomplished physicians in Germany, and of such repute, that his writings, which are numerous, have been translated into several languages.

The first of these treatises, which we are now to draw from, occupies, it is true, only 78 octavo pages; but the thoroughness with which the author has done his work, is duly disclosed in the citations which underlie the text in learned abundance from beginning to end.

Dr. Hecker's "Black Death" is in six chapters, as follows: 1. General Observations. 2. The Disease. 3. Causes and Spread. 4. Mortality. 5. Moral Effects. 6. Physicians. With an Appendix containing: 1. The Ancient Song of the Flagellants. 2. Examination of the Jews accused of Poisoning the Wells. The different end we have in view suggests at once less minuteness of division, and a different order of treatment.

I. *As to the Origin and Spread of the Pestilence.*

Whatever may be thought of the theory of Hecker, which traces the origin of this and the other like visitations of oriental pestilence to disturbances and disorganizations in the constitution of the earth itself, the fact is beyond dispute, that phenomena of this sort everywhere preceded the breaking out of the Black Death in the fourteenth century. In China, for fourteen years, commencing with 1333, there was a succession of droughts, famines, earthquakes and inundations, destroying millions of lives. Close upon these calamities followed the

pestilence, of whose ravages, however, no trustworthy statistics have been preserved. So too, was it throughout the whole of Asia and Europe. Earthquakes shook the ground and opened chasms; volcanoes belched their flames and lava; springs burst forth on the tops of mountains; rivers overflowed their banks; the sea rose and fell violently; swarms of locusts appeared; pillars and balls of fire were seen hanging over cities, as at Paris and Avignon; wine grew turbid in the casks, as at Villach in Austria; pestiferous winds blew; a thick mist, exceedingly offensive to the smell, advancing from the East, spread over Italy; in one place for a week, while an earthquake continued, people experienced a strange stupor and headache, so that many fainted away; and in many places report is made of a suffocating closeness, as though the very atmosphere itself were undergoing decomposition.

In Europe some of these disturbances occurred simultaneously with those in China. In 1333, for example, there was an eruption of Etna, after which this volcano was quiet all the rest of the century. In 1337 swarms of locusts made their first appearance in Franconia, at the very time they were darkening the air in China. So again, the year following, while an earthquake of ten days' continuance was shaking the Chinese province of Kiangsu, the harvest was cut off in France. But in 1348, when the pestilence was ready to strike, these phenomena became more frequent and terrible, and thus continued, with more or less of severity, for the space of about twelve years, till 1360.

Such were the heralds of the pestilence, riding on before it as on the wings of the wind, messengers of death to the panic-stricken nations. Plainly enough, it was not by contagion merely that the poison was carried from the remotest East to the remotest West. It travelled in the air. That the atmosphere was in a peculiar state of unwholesomeness cannot be doubted. And equally certain is it, that great telluric agitations were at the same time going on. But whether, as Hecker believes, the organism of nature itself was diseased, and so lay writhing and panting, is another question. The English editor is reluctant to accept a theory which seems to

him so fanciful; and yet he is far from sneering at it as wholly without support in the facts alleged.

The march of the pestilence across the continent of Asia we have not the means of tracing. Probably it followed the caravans. But from the time it touched Europe, and even before it had yet left Western Asia, we are able to track it step by step. It was here that the epidemic became more palpably contagious, moving along in the channels of commerce. From the northern coasts of the Black Sea, it came by ships to Constantinople. Shortly it appeared in Cyprus, Sicily, Marseilles, and some of the Italian seaports. In January, 1348, it fell with great fury upon Avignon, then the seat of the Papacy, and wasted also other cities in the south of France, striking over likewise into northern Italy and Spain. In April it reached Florence; and in August England, through the county of Dorset, though it was three months in getting to London. In 1349 it struck Poland, the northern parts of Germany, and Sweden; but did not appear in Russia till 1351, when its extreme severity had ceased in the rest of Europe. With this exception, it was raging in western Christendom for about three years, though not everywhere at the same time; since England, for example, appears to have been relieved in about twelve months, and some other countries within a still shorter time. Avignon was twice visited; first in 1348, and again in 1360, when the Plague took its final leave of Europe.

II.—*The Disease and its Ravages.*

The disease appeared in two forms: in its milder form, as an indigenous or natural epidemic, when it followed the atmospheric and other changes already spoken of; but much more virulent when it spread also by contagion. In Constantinople, as described by Cantacuzenus, the most prominent symptoms were large abscesses on the thighs and arms, which, on being opened, discharged an offensive matter, with smaller boils upon the face and elsewhere, and in many cases black spots breaking out all over the body, either single or united and confluent. Sometimes patients sank away, under a heavy headache, into stupor and paralysis. Sometimes the

tongue and fauces turned black, with violent pains in the chest, expectoration of blood, and a burning thirst, which could not be assuaged. In the West of Europe, the disease at first seemed to aim its blows more directly at the citadel of life. An intense fever, accompanied by an evacuation of blood and a putrefaction of the lungs, in three or four days hurried the sick into their graves. Afterwards, glandular swellings in the groin and armpits, as large as eggs or apples, with inflammatory boils, and black or blue spots all over the body, made their appearance. These tumors were hard and dry; but, if opened, as began to be the practice towards the end of the plague, a small quantity of matter was discharged. Some died suddenly, as if struck down by lightning; few survived the fourth day; and fewer still recovered. So infectious was the disease, that not men only, but even animals took the poison and died if they had touched anything belonging to the sick or dead. Boccacio saw two hogs on the rags of a person who had perished of the plague, stagger and fall down dead. Multitudes of dogs, cats, fowls and other animals fell victims to the contagion.

As to the extent of the mortality, in Europe at least, tolerably reliable statistics have come down to us. In regard to Asia our information is far less exact. Thirteen millions are reported for China; but the number is quite as likely to have been much larger. Many parts of Asia appear to have been nearly depopulated. In Europe, the country which suffered least was Germany; the countries which suffered most were Italy, France, and England, but Italy most of all. Venice lost 100,000 of her inhabitants, Florence 60,000, Paris 50,000, and London at least 100,000. But the city which appears to have suffered most was Avignon, now a city of some 36,000 inhabitants, but then, in the height of its papal bloom, holding a population of about 100,000, sixty thousand of whom perished. So fast did the people die, that graves could not be dug for them, and Pope Clement VI. was constrained to consecrate the Rhone, thus affording Christian burial to the many bodies which had to be thrown into the river. In southern France, it has been calculated that two-

thirds of the population perished, while in Germany, the number of deaths, according to Barnes, who is Hecker's authority in many of these estimates, was only about a million and a quarter.

Not the larger cities only, but the smaller towns, and even secluded hamlets were invaded. In England, scarcely a place of any importance appears to have escaped the visitation. Nor was the ocean spared. Both in the Mediterranean, and upon the northern seas of Europe, ships were found drifting about with their crews all struck dead upon the decks. In the whole of Europe, out of an estimated population of about 100,000,000, at least 25,000,000 are believed to have been swept away within three years; and in the whole world, perhaps one-third of the human race. No such mortality has been known in history, either before or since. The cholera of 1831 was a light calamity in comparison with this. Indeed, so severe a mortality would hardly be possible now, with our improved medical science and our more careful defences against infection.

III.—*The Moral Effects of the Pestilence.*

The immediate effects were mostly bad. The scenes described by Thucydides, in his famous account of the Plague at Athens during the Peloponnesian war, were acted over again throughout Europe, but only more terribly, if that were possible. Moral bonds were loosened, and society appeared to be upon the very verge of dissolution. Some, indeed, ran into the extreme of superstition, rushing with all their property into the embrace of a Church, which, it was hoped, might save their souls, if it could not heal or defend their bodies. But many more, preferring the advice of Job's wife, cursed God and died. Even suicide was not unfrequent amongst the sick. The frantic selfishness which everywhere reigned was appalling. Husbands and wives, parents and children, left each other to die alone. The dead were borne and followed to their graves, not by neighbors, relatives and friends, but by menials for hire. Sometimes, as Boccaccio reports of Florence, not a single taper lighted the body to its burial. Even priests abandoned their parishes, and fled

away for safety, leaving the sick to die without the consolations of religion. While multitudes of people, both men and women, instead of being sobered by the fearful mortality raging around them, only gave themselves up the more desperately to feasting and drinking and every form of indulgence and gaiety.

Then came the Flagellants, sometimes in troops of hundreds, or even thousands, traversing every part of Europe, howling their piteous chaunts; often naked to the waist, and scourging themselves from town to town till their bodies were red with blood.* It was an old fanaticism, having first made its appearance in Asia and southern Europe, as far back as the eleventh century; and again, in the thirteenth century, there were many processions of Flagellants. But now the furor was dreadful. Most of the brotherhood were originally of the lower orders of society, ignorant, idle and worthless; but presently they were joined by men of rank and culture, and even boys and women were to be seen in their noisy processions. They did no good, but incalculable evil rather, spreading fear and phrensy, instead of inspiring faith and fortitude, wherever they went. The influence of the regular clergy was greatly damaged by them, and so intolerable did the nuisance become, that the Pope issued a bull, Oct. 20th, 1349, suppressing the Order.

One of the most hideous features of the time was the spirit of persecution that was kindled, in every part of Europe, against the Jews. The charge was universal against them, and almost universally believed, of having caused the pestilence by poisoning the wells and fountains. The Pope, a

*One of their songs, given by Hecker in his Appendix, has this stanza in it:

“Ye that repent your crimes, draw nigh.
From the burning hell we fly,
From Satan’s wicked company.
Whom he leads,
With pitch he feeds;
If we be wise we this shall flee,
Maria! Queen! we trust in thee,
To move thy Son to sympathy.”

man of sense, of learning and of charity, believed them innocent of the charge, did what he could to protect them at Avignon, and issued two bulls exhorting all good Christians to let them alone. The German Emperor, Charles IV. (1347-78), also strove to shield them from violence; but all to little purpose. The popular feeling was against them, and thousands of them perished by sword, by fire, and by various forms of torture. This persecution commenced at Chillon, on the lake of Geneva, in September, 1348, and went over Europe as fire over a prairie. At Strasburg two thousand Jews were burnt alive in their own burial ground. In Mayence 12,000 were put to a cruel death. In several places, as at Spires, and Eslingen, they set fire, with their own hands, to buildings in which they were assembled, to avoid falling into the hands of their tormentors. In some cases, instead of being put to death, they were stripped of their property and banished. Some, it is true, confessed the crime of poisoning, but it was under torture, to escape death; and nobody now believes the confession to have been an honest one. In several cases at least, bags of poison, found in wells, were afterwards proved to have been put there by Christians themselves, for the very purpose of rousing vengeance against the hated race.

Such were some of the more immediate moral effects of the pestilence. But the remoter effects were different. And, indeed, in the very time of the pestilence, while all these excesses and enormities were going on, there was also a better spirit active. The secular clergy, as we have seen, were too frequently remiss in duty, flying before the calamity, which they should have faced with their flocks. But the monastic orders behaved admirably, braving danger with noble heroism, tending the sick, comforting the dying, and preaching repentance and faith to all. Hecker, though probably from no unworthy motive, barely mentions this fact, without dwelling upon it. The services thus rendered in the face of desolations and terrors without a parallel are a part of the history of that age, and certainly deserve commemoration even at the hands of those who are no eulogists or admirers of monasticism. Tauler, the Dominican, and the fervent and earnest

mystic, stands conspicuous in these self-denying and dangerous labors. Strasburg, where Tauler then lived, had been laid under an interdict for siding against the Emperor, who had been elected at the instigation of the Pope. Many of the clergy and monks had succumbed to Papal authority, and fled from the city. Pulpits were silent, and the rites of religion, all save the baptism of infants and extreme unction to the dying, were withheld from the people. Tauler, availing himself of the privilege early granted to his order in common with that of the Franciscans, paid no regard to this interdict, but continued to preach and administer the sacraments according to the dictates of his own conscience. Presently the pestilence appeared, smiting the city with fearful power, till 16,000 people had fallen before it. The voice of Tauler was heard amidst the desolations, preaching courage to the people, and rallying the clergy back to their neglected duties. Two monks shared his labors, Thomas of Strasburg, Prior-General of the Augustinians, and Ludolph of Saxony, Prior of the Carthusians. These three men issued an address to the clergy at large, in which they inveighed against the iniquity of leaving poor ignorant people to perish without the consolations of religion, forasmuch as Christ had died for all men, and the Pope had no power to shut the gate of heaven against an innocent person who should die under the interdict. In a second letter they went still further, and uttered sentiments still more protestant, proclaiming the principle, that "he who professes the true articles of the Christian faith, and only sins against the power of the Pope, is by no means to be counted a heretic."* Tauler was subsequently banished from Strasburg on account of these bold utterances; but during the continuance of the plague, his labors were blessed to the quickening and comfort of many souls. Mystic as he was, he had no sympathy with passive mysticism. "Works of love," he said, "are more acceptable to God than lofty contemplation; art thou engaged in devoutest prayer, and God wills that thou go out and preach,

* Tauler's Life and Sermons, American edition, 1858. pp. 138-9.

or carry broth to a sick brother, thou shouldst do it with joy."*

We admit, there were but too few such men at that period. But some there were in every part of Europe, and their number multiplied as time wore on. Even then there was Wycliffe at Oxford; and it cannot be doubted that his religious life was sensibly deepened by this great judgment of God upon the nations. By and by came Thomas á Kempis, and John of Goch, John of Wesel, John Wessel, and those other "Reformers before the Reformation," without whom Luther would have found no soil waiting for his husbandry, and who themselves could not so well have prepared that soil, if it had not first been ploughed and mellowed for them by this tremendous visitation. The irreligion and immoralities engendered by the plague were only temporary. As the clouds of wrath rolled off, and reason resumed her sceptre, and men could reflect calmly upon what had happened, they laid to heart the fearful lessons they had learned, deplored the papal midnight, which was darkening the earth, and began to pray and watch for the morning.

ART. V.—HOLLAND'S BITTER-SWEET.

Bitter-Sweet. A Poem by J. G. HOLLAND. Fifth Edition. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.

THIS is a remarkable book. Its theme, plot and structure are novelties in such combinations. It has been read; it will be read. Men will listen to it, for it debates a question pushed into sight at almost every crook and turn of the way man deviseth. As a poem, there are faults enough in it to sink a dozen like it into hopeless oblivion, had it only a common theme, treated with ordinary power; but the grand freight of truth in it buoys it and all its faults, and will do it

* Tauler's Life and Sermons, p. 137.

when scores of faultless works shall drop from its side into obscurity.

Its novelty engages an interest at sight. Poetry, lifting on its downy pinions the vast and solid doctrines known as the corner-stones of the Christian faith, is, since Milton, not often seen. We remember some spirited etchings, by Retsch, of Pegasus, sold at a fair to a farmer, and then put into harness for common horse work, at the plow, dray-cart and coach; in all of which trials the nervous Olympian steed casts himself into fearfully antic and frantic attitudes; but we never expected to see the winged courser light on our table, tugging like a Titan at the great problems of sovereign will, reasons for moral evil, and the sublime evolution of good out of that evil.

Here we have it all brought in; and to heighten the surprise the project for the display is a homely New England farm-house on a Thanksgiving-day; Israel, David, Patience, Prudence, Ruth, and Grace—the persons; up stairs, down cellar, among potato-bins, apple and cider-barrels, kitchen games for children, and nursery tales in woman pathos and wondrousness, while rocking a baby to sleep—the scenes.

If a book can survive all this, and beget new editions in lawful months, it plainly belongs to that rather select family the world will not willingly let die. Not by any fascination or captivation, but by a sort of spiritual seizure, the verse embraces the reader's mind. Clumsily, even, the framework is built. You clamber over "Picture," "Persons," "Prelude" to "First Movement—Colloquial," which states and argues the question. "First Episode," then takes it up to illustrate "*by nature*." Two other "Movements," "Narrative" and "Dramatic," with an interposed "Second Episode" follow, in which "Experience, Story, and Denouement" carry the ingenious conference to its end. The Roman army in Gaul, after one of Cæsar's drills in quincunx, wedge and cross, might be imagined to have been in a state of mind suitable for getting readily through all this; and yet departing from the odd scheme to the poem itself, the way is as lucid as a lighted avenue. In pleasing, though not always plain versification

the divinely sovereign rule, and the soul's dread debate about it, are carried on. *How* and *why* evil got a place under the great government which encompasses us, are the warp and woof of the fabric. Doubt, Faith, Despair, Hope, Life in old age, in mid-age and in childhood, diversify the patterns and figures of it. In keen conference, made at times vivid and beautiful by terse poetic phrase, the theme expands.

The words begin between the Puritan grandsire, Israel, and his thoughtful unwed daughter Ruth, who is tending his bereaved decline. He calls the festival scene around him like "Eden's hours," and out of this rejoicing comparison arises a crossing of opinions, ending in the maiden's protest :

"God forgive me; but I've thought
A thousand times that if I had His power
Or He my love, we'd have a different world
From this we live in."—p. 36.

"*A wilful soul unreconciled to God,*"

is the sum of the venerable sire's response, and from these—flint and steel—the debate becomes solemnly intense; he catching the hot coals from her rebellious dispute in the strong palm of humble confessing faith, and quenching them by the contact.

David, a son-in-law, joins in the conference, and the patriarch growing weary before the aroused and thoughtful girl's interrogatories, he assumes the father's part of it, pleading :

"God is almighty—all benevolent,
And naught exists save by His loving will.
Evil, or what we reckon such, exists,
And not against His will. * * *
Therefore, I care not whether He ordain
That evil live, or whether he permit."—p. 43.

His eye is quite fixed upon the fruits of it in his personal existence,—

"*How shall it nurse my virtue, nerve my will?*"

He then brings the Lord Jesus perfected by suffering into his evidence, and so sums his theology into a christological theory of the fact of evil. The doctrine of Christ's pre-existence under a decree for sacrifice, is skilfully made to take, as

a counterpart, man's pre-existent character as a sinner in the divine decree.

"If Christ * * * was slain
From the foundation of the world, it was
Because our evil lived in essence then,
Coeval with the great mysterious fact."—p. 47.

A little further on, he strikes bottom boldly, saying, some
"limp to make apology for God.

* * * * *

I am ashamed that in this Christian age
The pious throng still hug the fallacy,
That this dear world of ours was not ordained
The theatre of evil; for no law
Declared of God from all eternity
Can live a moment save by lease of pain.
Law cannot live, e'en in God's inmost thought,
Save by the side of evil."—p. 49.

The daughter and father press the versifying theologian with queries, which draw him into many vivid and very convincing confirmations of his doctrine,—culminating, as it seems to us, in

"The great salvation wrought by Jesus Christ,
That sank an Adam to reveal a God,
Had never come, but at the call of Sin."—p. 52.

The poetry grows eloquent as it marches to the victory of conviction among the auditors, and speedily the perplexed, doubting woman cries, "Thank God for light." She thinks the truth now shines through the clouds. She comprehends the mystery and cries out,

* * *

"I'm ready now to work,
To work with God, and suffer with His Christ,
Adopt His measures, and abide His means."—p. 55.

A beautiful burst of womanly consecration follows, welcoming sickness, toil, "the fear and fact of death." The old man, who has been silent, solemnly appends "*And welcome sin?*" RUTH.—"Ah David! welcome sin?" He adds, "The fact of sin—so much;" ending his reply,

"Each chastened power and passion of the soul,
Is the temptation of the soul to sin,
Resisted, and re-conquered, evermore."—p. 57.

The colloquy subsides into confessions of peace and unquestioning devotion; the patriarch gathers the group, makes the family prayer, a hymn—original, and like most of the kind, scantily poetical—concludes the debate, and the festive company scatter to sports and pastimes. As they separate, Grace, the wife of David, makes distinct a troubled, bitter mind, shut up in that sacrificial womanly endurance, which betrays its pangs only by its solicitude to hide them. The tempest of her woes, yet to break, skilfully sends a few harbinger clouds beforehand.

The first "Episode" now takes the matter in hand to illustrate it by "*Nature*," which, smiling reader, is a down-cellar scene. David and Ruth, with pitcher and tray, in search of pomological dessert, in much facetiousness, get down stairs, and

"Sixteen barrels of cider
Ripening all in a row!"

engage their attention, the maiden sportively recounting the processes of—making cider. And what poetry or theology did they find there?

"Hearts, like apples, are hard and sour,
Till crushed by Pain's resistless power,"

is the acid moral the Calvinistic David gets there. Ruth calls his ten-line homily therefrom

"Sermon quite short for the text;"

but it is strong and clear as the text. Next the beef-barrel is attacked, and delicately, "— zephyr, whitest and comeliest heifer," is apotheosized. Out of it, the muse in a fresh measure and stanza, touchingly replies, "Life evermore is fed by death," &c. This doctrine, traced through eight irregular stanzas, forming one of the choicest veins in this variegated book, we have rarely seen so forcibly and beautifully expressed.

The apples come next, and the girl-prattle over them is capital. From them the poetic brother gets enforcement of the doctrine of perfecting by pruning, cutting off the wild stock to make room for the scion of celebrated flavor, sets

The early drunkenness and profligacy of her husband, not having the relief of any concealment, and his final desertion of her by a balloon ascension with a "painted courtesan," were widely known facts. This novel flight just preceded the disclosure of fatal frauds in business, and other ripening shame, and under its combination of soul-tortures the devoted wife sank in frenzied delirium. She afterwards traced him to the city, and by the tireless search of abused love, got a glimpse of him as—

"he tottered down the steps of a dark gin shop."

Years had passed; she had never seen him since.

In city penury she was toiling when a stranger brought a pattern for nice embroidery. The hate she felt for *mankind* softened before him—

"with an eye as pure,
And brow as fair as any little child's,
* * * * *
All manly beauty, dignity and grace."

She first admired him, then envied the favored wife of such a man; then in base retaliation for the ruin a man had brought on all her hopes, plotted his ruin. In the crisis of the temptation, he saw and broke the snare, and in his pungent penitence aroused hers, and from it, her new life of faith and piety began.

Passing the "Second Episode" or "The Question illustrated by Story," which is mainly the tale of Bluebeard done into a score of eight-line stanzas, we search the "Third Movement," which illustrates the question "by denouement."

If skilful retreat proves rare generalship, gathering the scattered and artfully concealed forces of a most variegated poem shows equal genius. That surely is done here. The tangled threads, seemingly loosened from any connection with the song, are gradually drawn in, and knotted into a very touching finale.

The poetry, indeed, rather falls off in quality. The stream subsides from the swift cascaded current it has been, into a quiet meandering, as it visibly nears the end of its flow. Out in the sleety, drifting snow, a stranger is discerned.

Chilled and wearied to a speechless exhaustion, he is brought into the friendly home, warmed, resuscitated, and after a short delirious sleep is waked by the fainting of Mary, who in her pitying vigil over him, discovers that he is her long-lost husband,—just crawled from the hospital to beg her pardon and die. Christ had found him as he—poor prodigal—“trod the wildernesses of remorse.” He ran—he flew—“And grasped his outstretched hand.” Mutual forgiveness and recountings of events since their sad parting follow, in which she relates her temptation, and almost crime; bringing out that David, the husband of Grace, was her helper and rescuer from ruin; that his apparent infidelity to Grace was but a mode of concealing the plan and process for recovering this outcast foster-sister.

The jealous wife is changed into a self-reproachful admiration of her most virtuous and faithful husband, to whom Mary and her dying husband pour out such gratitude as such service claims. During these absorbing, glad bewildering surprises, the poor broken prodigal, Edward, expires. He dies to *save his virtue*. He was afraid to live.

“I’ve won a jewel *only death will keep*”—p. 203.

a point in theology we disown, and pronounce false to the doctrine of renewal by the Holy Ghost; for is not that grace of God which is able to recover such a sinner from the error of his ways, to pluck his feet from the horrible pit and miry clay he was found in, able to keep him after he was out? This issue is false to the thought of the entire poem, which is that the highest virtue comes from “struggle with opposing ill.” Therefore, the dissolute repenting man should have proved his hope in Christ as his Saviour, by the conquest of the corruptions he had found so bitter, instead of slinking into the grave to escape the conflict with them. If only death could keep him—had he found “Him who is able to keep from falling and to present us spotless at last?” We mistake the author if he chooses the issue thus made.

We welcome this book. It is a convincing and novel form of the great primary doctrines of the Christian system. With

no claim to any new or improved theology, this bold and sometimes rude flight of verse wisely mediates between our incessant discontents under our daily experience, and God's great government over us. The verse, generally far more elegant and poetic than the page of contents promises, in occasional passages touches the heights of Jove.

No thoughtful man, believing in God as a being ever intimate with life's affairs, and sensitive to the common experience under that guidance, will peruse this volume without genuine benefit. Faith deepens, hope grows stronger, and the strife of the soul with divine and sovereign rule is composed under its lucid, persuasive pages. Read it, troubled soul. Send it to the troubled.

ART. VI.—HENGSTENBERG'S COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES.

Der Prediger Salomo, ausgelegt von E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. und Professor der Theologie in Berlin. Berlin, 1859. 8vo. pp. 272.

THE works of few Biblical scholars of the present day have been so widely known as those of Hengstenberg. His orthodox tone, his varied learning, his great powers of combination and of ingenious statement have gained him many readers. A new commentary by this author on so interesting and difficult a portion of the Bible as the book of Ecclesiastes, might well receive a more thorough examination than time or space will permit us to give. We will endeavor, however, to sketch briefly the leading ideas of his somewhat novel exposition of the book.

Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher, in the view of Hengstenberg, is a book which sprang out of and was adapted to the circumstances of the period in which it was written. It was truly a Tract for the Time, addressed to the men of a particular generation, and intended for their warning and consolation. The

time of its composition must have been after the return from the captivity, and during the Persian supremacy. This is argued from the position of the book in the canon, and from internal evidence—its language, and its reference to the religions and national conditions of that period. For it is separated from the writings belonging to the age of Solomon, and stands, in the Hebrew Scriptures, immediately after the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and immediately before those books, which, either as histories or prophecies, regard wants, facts and relations existing only after the captivity. If the collectors of the canon had regarded it as proceeding from Solomon, or from the age of Solomon, they would scarcely have placed it between Lamentations and Esther. In the language, also, of the Preacher is found a strong proof that he wrote, not in the golden, but in the iron age of Hebrew literature; but as the argument drawn from this source has been fully presented by preceding scholars, it naturally occupies little space in the present commentary. It is upon the indications which the contents of the book gives of its date, that Hengstenberg expends his strength. Here, moreover, his method is the most novel; and though not wholly original, yet it is carried out with new combinations, and made to furnish a kind of historical framework for whatever is peculiar in his interpretation. Everywhere throughout the book, he discerns allusions to the circumstances of the time. The very text of the Preacher, in the guise of a general statement, hints a present fact. It is an echo of the prevailing wretchedness of God's people, and is adapted both to express and to console the existing misery. Not half so heavy is the cross which others also must bear; and it is sweet comfort for the wretched that all men must share their wretchedness. So again in ch. i. 12—18, and ch. ii., Coheleth, the ideal wisdom, speaking in the name of Solomon, the greatest representative of wisdom, shows that even with the best means and opportunities, all human pursuits are vanity and fruitless effort. The imaginary experience here described points to an existing depression, and was adapted to console the pious Hebrew, who, weary with the present, looked back with long-

ing to the glories of the golden age of Solomon. From iv. 1-3, we learn that the earth was then the scene of injustice and violence; and in iv. 4-6, the Preacher consoles his people that they have not to bear the heavy burden of envy. This affords an indication that the nation was then in no enviable condition. In v. 7, the writer speaks of the "oppression of the poor" and the "robbery of justice in the province," and proceeds in the following verses to console a people sighing under Gentile tyranny for the loss of earthly possessions. Here, as elsewhere throughout the work, the rich man represents the dominant Gentiles; the impoverished or poor man, the chosen people. In vii. 2, is found an intimation that Israel was in the house of mourning, and the Gentiles in the house of feasting. According to vii. 9, the present was a time for the exercise of patience—a time, when one might well say, that "the former days were better than these," vii. 10—a time, when Israel was stripped of all the blessings, which of right belong to the people of God, and reduced to the possession of wisdom, vii. 11, 12. In the beginning of ch. ix. the conditions of the time are exhibited as a stumbling block in the way of faith; if God reigns, why are the relations of the church and the world confused and interchanged?—why are the privileges of the former so often given to the latter? In ch. x. come out more clearly allusions to the reigning tyranny. "Folly," (which everywhere in the book appears as the representative and animating spirit of the Gentile world), "is set in great dignity;" "servants are upon horses," while "princes," the members of a nation called to the supremacy of the world, go on foot. In the latter part of this chapter is presented the condition of the dominant power, with her corrupt and debauched rulers; though the writer checks himself, and breaks off the description, as if fearful of saying too much. The circumstances thus indicated belong neither to the age of Solomon, nor to any period of Hebrew history, except that of the Persian supremacy. To this period, moreover, point the intimations, which the book affords of the moral conditions of the chosen people. Idolatry was rife from Solomon to the Babylonian captivity;

but the Preacher utters no word concerning it, while avarice, discontented Pharisaism, the prevailing sins of a later age, are the moral dangers against which the Preacher most frequently warns.

After it is once determined that the book cannot be dated before the return from the captivity, the question arises, when, during the Persian period, was it composed. Here it is urged that the deep moral degradation which Coheleth seems to attribute to the dominant nation, forbids the dating of the book at the time of Cyrus; while, on the other hand, the probable closing of the Old Testament canon will not permit it to be brought below the reigns of Xerxes, or Artaxerxes. There is, also, some positive evidence showing that the author of Ecclesiastes was the contemporary of Nehemiah and Malachi. The sins censured by this prophet are, in the main, those kept in view by the preacher; while the correspondence, in reference to political conditions, between Ecclesiastes and Nehemiah, is yet more striking.

To these last times of the Hebrew Scriptures, therefore, is assigned the date of the book. This decision is by no means unimportant, since, in the view of Hengstenberg, the Preacher found his motive in the necessities of the time. To speak strictly, his production has no regular plan or progress; various topics come into the view, and the style has equal variety with the matter. But the thread which holds everything together is the constant reference to the relations, tendencies and evils of the age. Here lies the real unity of the book, though its contents are too diverse to be summed up in an isolated theme. The writer never loses sight of the man of Judah under the Persian tyranny, to whom he is sent with messages of heavenly wisdom. It is true that the allusions to present circumstances are often so obscure that the modern reader may easily leave them unobserved. But this lack of bold description and definite statement is intentional. The fear of foreign governors and Jewish spies made it dangerous to speak openly. And moreover, the Preacher wrote, not only for his own generation, but for the church of all time; so that the particular is merged in

the general, and, as in the Psalms, historical relations are drawn with such delicacy that the minutest investigation is needed to discover them.

The matter of the book is intended for consolation and reproof. The first object of the Preacher is to awaken hope in the hearts of a depressed nation, and to convince the people of God that they are still the peculiar people, inheritors of the promises, in the midst of whom God dwells. His consolatory mission Coheleth opens by declaring that "all is vanity." This world is a vale of tears, and there is no essential difference between a happy and an unhappy age. For a like object is described the experience of a Solomon—to repress pining after the glories of a former age, by showing that they, too, were profitless. The correct estimate of the value of riches is given as consolation to the impoverished descendants of Abraham. While the vanity of what they have lost is proved to the chosen people, they are pointed to the sources of joy yet remaining unto them, and from which they may thankfully draw. Life itself is a good, xi. 7, and affords to the unambitious and godly mind, which lives for the present, a wealth of joys, ii. 24, iii. 12, etc. But it was not enough to show the worthlessness of human possessions, since, however insignificant their value, God had promised them to his people; and the question must arise, has he broken his promise, or is he unable to fulfil it. By way of answer, Coheleth replies, that God doeth everything in its appropriate season, iii. 1–15. Seen, or unseen, his hand of blessing is over his chosen ones; and the pious heart will accept thankfully whatever he may send. Here and there throughout the book appears the thought, that God will vindicate his people; he will, at some time in the future, "judge the righteous and the wicked," iii. 17. Israel shall be exalted, and the tyrannizing nations of the Gentiles shall be overthrown. In v. 7, 8, it is taught that the heavenly judge will, in due time, bring everything back into its order. According to viii. 5–13, God will hereafter deliver his own, and no worldly power can keep back the course of his judgment. Several passages point more definitely to the impending destruction of the

Persian. Thus, in vi. 2, "the stranger" who devours the rich man's substance is the Persian's successor in the dominion of the world; and in the third verse, the words "also that he have no burial" intimate the prospect of a speedy and bloody overthrow. In vii. 6, the fortune of the Persians is compared to a fire of crackling thorns, which blazes up fiercely, but soon goes out. In vii. 7, the corruption induced by tyranny is represented as a token of speedy destruction; and lastly, according to xi. 3, the storm of divine wrath will soon prostrate the lofty tree of the Persian kingdom.

In a similar manner Hengstenberg draws out other lessons of comfort and admonition, but the specimens given above are sufficient to show the kind of critical grasp with which he takes hold of the problem before him. The grasp is strong and vigorous, and every difficulty is made to bend to it. Whatever is peculiar in his interpretation may be expressed in the following propositions: 1. The motive of the writer of Ecclesiastes was not general, but special, and is found in the tyranny of the Persian power, and the depression wrought thereby among the chosen people. 2. The book is not speculative, containing a process of investigation, nor experimental, giving the experience of an observer; but consolatory and hortatory, designed to comfort the nation under its trials, and to warn against its besetting sins. Without attempting a thorough discussion of these propositions, we will examine a few of the proofs and applications.

It is inferred from i. 2-11, that "God's people are in deep misery;" since it is the obvious design of the language of the passage to console those who groan under the wretchedness of the time, by showing that their case is not peculiar. Misery loves company, and "the cross is easier to bear, which all are compelled to carry." To prove that repining is useless paves the pathway of the consoler.

One might, indeed, doubt the propriety of an explanation, which forces a concealed intention upon the statement of a general truth; and a scrupulous mind might impugn the taste, which would make the Preacher serve up a fact of human experience as a mere commonplace of consolation. But

granting that these objections are trivial, it is safe to assume that a general statement intended for consolation would contain a reference to the experience demanding comfort. The general predicate would have some connexion with the condition of the particular subject to which it is to be applied. Language like Job's, "man born of woman is of few days and full of trouble," would have answered the supposed design of the Preacher, and served as an appropriate text. But he asserts simply the vanity of human things; he declares, not that life is full of sorrow, but that it yields no result. One generation after another repeats the old experience, while the world holds its unvarying course, and forbids the hope of any change. Nature moves in a circle—everything goes round, but not forward, and nothing tends towards any goal. All is process; there is no result. This vast process words would grow weary in describing—hearing and sight fail in the effort to observe; and if in appearance a new thing occurs, it is but a repetition of a past event, which the revolving wheel has again brought round, though the memory of man cannot retrace the circuit. Such is the thought of the opening passage, which, in various forms, is carried through the book. The dissatisfaction with life to which, at one time or another, every mind is liable, finds strong utterance; but this feeling is not so much the offspring of pain as the creature of speculation. *Cohelah* appears, not as one who has sorrow in his heart, but who has nothing in his hands; he laments, not that man must suffer so much, but that he can do so little. Hengstenberg, therefore, seems to fall into a slight error respecting the meaning of the passage, and the proposed application, insipid at the best, must fall to the ground.

In iii. 1–15, Hengstenberg finds words of comfort addressed to the community of Israel. The following extract will illustrate his conception of the passage, as well as furnish a specimen of the style and method of the commentary:

“‘Everything has its hour,’ not indeed in dependence on a blind destiny—that were a poor consolation—but the hour appointed by a God merciful, gracious, and long-suffering, of great love and faithfulness; who, even in anger, does not forget compassion; who has thoughts of peace for his

people while they are languishing in wretchedness; who chastens them indeed, but does not give them up to death. If all goes ill, they have only to abide the hour: in the end the highest good must always come to God's people. Parallel is Ps. lxxv. 8; 'for I will fix a time, when I will judge righteously.' The 'time' here is that which God has set for bringing to pass his own counsel. Again, Ps. cii. 14: 'Thou wilt arise and have mercy upon Zion; for it is time to be gracious to her, for the fixed time is come.' Toward this 'fixed time' of God is the eye to be directed in the midst of affliction. That set time will come only when the chastisement of God's church has accomplished its end. For the chastisement too has its hour; and he who knows this, who understands that in his suffering the hand of his God is laid upon him, cannot fail to have joy and comfort in his suffering. The language of John, vii. 30, 'They sought to take him; but no man laid hands on him, because his hour had not come,' is founded on this passage. Wholly incorrect is the explanation of Gesenius: 'Everything endures but for a time: there is nothing permanent.' Verse 14 is conclusive against this interpretation. The thought is rather this: in misfortune we must learn to wait; since we cannot alter times and seasons, and man can receive nothing which is not given to him from above.

"What pleases God, O humble child,
Accept with joy, though winds blow wild,
And rage, till all is wrecked and riven;
Have comfort, to thy lot is given
What pleases God."

"The true sense is wholly lost by those, also, who here find the precept that everything should be done at the right time.—'And every desire under the heaven has its time.' According to the common assumption, *הפץ* stands here in the signification of *thing, matter*. But in other books *הפץ* always has the sense of *pleasure, delight*; and that sense is recognised by all in several passages of this book (xii. 1, 10, v. 3), and in a contemporaneous work, Mal. i. 10. We should, therefore, adhere to that meaning, if it is at all applicable, in this passage, and likewise in iii. 17, v. 7, viii. 6: indeed, with greater reason here, as the rendering *matter* gives a blank tautology; for no distinction can be made between *עַתָּה* and *זֶמֶן*. Now the meaning thus established is perfectly suitable;* *הפץ* here is the desire of believers for the restoration of the king-

* *הפץ* means properly *inclination*; hence, also, *pleasure, delight, desire*. Closely connected with this meaning is the sense of *purpose, pursuit*, which might easily be expanded into *business, matter*. Thus, according to Gesenius, the Syriac *פִּצַּח* from the verb *פִּצַּח* *voluit*, acquired the meaning *business, matter*. The signification *pursuit, affair*, generally attributed to *הפץ* in iii. 1, perfectly suits the connection; for the writer is showing that the time of human affairs and actions is determined by divine appointment. The first verse of the chapter is apparently a kind of title or general statement including the particulars which

dom of God. They thought it was to come at once; but they must abide the time which God has predestined in his own counsel. What we wish for comes to pass, not when we will, but when God wills. Enough, that it comes to pass at all. 'The (every) desire' receives its limitation from the character of those to whom the poet speaks. He has in mind the wishes of the people of God, anxious for the coming of his kingdom. * * *

The general thought, enunciated in this verse, receives now its particular development in the next seven verses, which contain, each of them two pairs of particulars. That this development relates to the church of God as a whole, and not to the destinies of individual believers (to which indeed, they may have an analogous application) is apparent at once from the 'time to bear;' and again, from the 'time to slay and to heal' (v. 3), for this points to a greater whole in which these actions could succeed each other, while the reference to God's people is here suggested also by Deut. xxxii 39, on which the expression of this passage is founded. So too the 'scattering stones' and 'gathering stones' point us to national events. Moreover the 'time for war' and 'time for peace,' which close the catalogue, furnish a measure for the whole. And in other points the parallel passages everywhere direct us to the national reference, which, according to the testimony of Jerome, was recognised in very early times."

The passage quoted above is interesting, ingenious, and framed in a religious spirit. The abundance of Scriptural illustrations, the flow of pious language, carry the reader easily over the real difficulty. The point requiring proof is the national reference supposed to lie in the actions mentioned by the Preacher. The points of the proof are:—1. The subject of the enumerated actions must be one in which they could succeed each other. 2. Certain of these terms are used

follow; and as the particulars are arranged in pairs, so, also, the heading consists of two members. These members do not make a "blank tautology," for הַבֵּן is more indefinite than הַפֶּן, nor, indeed, have we any right to insist that these terms logically exclude each other. On the other hand, the meaning *desire* cannot serve as a heading for the following particulars, and appears like an intruder in the context. Nor again in v. 7 is the meaning *desire* at all appropriate. Hengstenberg refers הַפֶּן in this passage either to "the divine pleasure, or to the '*tel est mon plaisir*' of tyrants who usually begin their edicts with '*It seems good to the king*,' Ezr. v. 17, &c." The passage then should be read as follows: "if thou seest the oppression of the poor and the robbery of judgment and justice in the province, marvel not at the (divine) pleasure" (in permitting tyranny), or "marvel not at the pleasure" (of the tyrant). In either reference, the explanation is not very natural or plausible. The expression in the sixth verse of ch. viii. is apparently founded upon iii. 1, and הַפֶּן must have the meaning which it bears in that passage.

figuratively in other parts of the Bible. 3. The particulars of the last pair, in their primary sense, denote national events and furnish a measure for the entire list. But surely there is no greater difficulty in supposing that the actions of each pair might succeed each other in the individual subject, than in the generic subject. Planting and plucking up, killing and healing, can be done successively by a single person as well as by a community. But this matter of succession is wholly unimportant, and contributes nothing to the thought, either according to the literal or the figurative interpretation. The truth enforced by Coheleth is that God determines the time of every action; and it is of no consequence to the impression of this truth that all the enumerated actions should be predicable of the same subject. Again, the appeal made to the use of similar phraseology with a national reference, in other portions of the Bible, is inadequate to sustain the proposed interpretation. A figurative use of language always proves itself to be such by the nature of the connection; and it cannot be transferred from one discourse to another without some indication that it is not to be understood literally. No one who reads the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy can doubt the figurative application of the language of the thirty-ninth verse. It is perfectly clear that in this place "I wound and I heal" are not literal expressions. But this fact alone is no proof that *wounding* and *healing* in the book of Ecclesiastes must be similarly understood; unless, indeed, it can be shown, that the figurative sense of these terms, by long and frequent usage, had thrust aside the natural and primary meaning and usurped its place. And lastly, the plea that "war" and "peace" point to national events, and carry with them the rest of the catalogue, is, to say the least, no strong proof of the point in question. The argument would be quite as good if made to look the other way, and *rending* and *sewing* might fasten upon "war" and "peace" a specific individual reference. But the truth is, that the writer enumerates these activities and events of human life to illustrate the assertion, that the time for everything is determined by the will of God. He would show that even if the objects of

human pursuits were valuable and yielded solid result, the struggle for them would be uncertain and valueless; so that the true rule for man is to enjoy freely the good which God sends. There is apparently no special significance in the enumerated actions; the catalogue might have been extended or abridged, and still its value in the course of thought would have remained unchanged. It is clearly unnecessary for the ends of intelligible interpretation to suppose that "scattering stones" refers to the "appointed discipline of the degenerate church:" or that a "time to embrace" points to the season when "the Lord embraces his church," while its opposite, a "time to refrain from embracing," signifies the period when "she may not enjoy his love."

The mode of explanation which Hengstenberg adopts, converts the book into a kind of allegory. Certain constantly recurring terms are treated as symbols, and the real objects at which the Preacher aims his discourse are described in enigmatical language. The "rich man" is the Persian oppressor; the "poor man" represents impoverished Israel; "folly" denotes the Gentile philosophy and practice, and "wisdom" the true light which cometh down from above. We are pointed in almost every verse to some hidden reference or concealed intention, which lies underneath the natural import of the words. But the assertion of a hidden meaning in any form of words which have a direct and obvious meaning, can be supported only by strong evidence; for it is the general law of allegorical expression to furnish some indication of its true nature; so that it is highly improbable that a writer will make use of symbolical language without revealing, either in the manner of using it, or by some deviation from it, the purpose for which it is employed. Now Hengstenberg generally proves the allegorical interpretation, not by the nature of the context nor by the form of the expression, but by showing that the given words, in other parts of the Bible, have the supposed meaning. He seems, at times, to proceed on the assumption, that in all portions of the Bible, certain ideas have an affinity for certain phrases, so that, under any conditions, the phrases convey these ideas. If the

proposed meaning can find its verbal parallel and is suited to the imagined purpose of the writer, it is accepted as sufficiently proved. He scarcely attempts to show that the Jewish reader would easily have seized upon this meaning and recognized it as the sense intended by the writer.

To illustrate further these traits of the commentary, we extract a passage, which has just met our notice, in explanation of vii. 5.

“‘It is better, &c., than for a man to hear the song of fools.’ The man himself is to be regarded as joining in the song—as a member of the mirthful society of happy worldlings. The singing fools of that day were the Persians, and that the man is somehow distinguished from the fools brings out the thought, that Israel, though she is now suffering, and compelled to submit to rebuke, is better off than if she floated on with the world in pleasure and joy.”

If the pious Israelite was expected to draw this out of the passage, did he not stand in need of some clue which should lead him to seek, underneath the obvious sense of the words, their allegorical application? Nothing in the context reveals any peculiar significance in the phraseology of the verse. The words seem to utter the moral truth that, to receive wholesome rebuke, is a greater good than to share in foolish levity. Why may we not be content with the palpable meaning? Why confine an expression of universal application within the narrow circle of national contrasts and antipathies? It may be replied, that the Preacher wrote for all coming generations, and that he intentionally concealed the application to present circumstances, under a form of words pertinent to every age. But the plea though ingenious will not bear examination. We still require evidence for the hidden meaning. The writer either did or did not intend that his readers should understand by “the fools,” the Persians of that time: if he did not, could he have employed language more appropriate to his purpose than that which he has actually used? Is any more successful method of fulfilling the purpose conceivable? What would distinguish the mode of expression proper to the particular meaning from the mode of expression proper to the general meaning? Is there any-

thing, either in the passage itself or in the context, which can serve as such a distinction?

Turning again to the commentary, we find the following explanation of x. 5:

“‘The ruler’” simply means the heavenly, just as ‘the king’ in v. 8 and viii. 2, 4, is the heavenly king. In Dan. iv. 23 and v. 21, also, שָׁרֵיט denotes the heavenly ruler. As early as Jerome we find the correct view, taken by him from the mouth of the Jew whose assistance he enjoyed: *Hebræus potentem et principem, a cujus facie ignoratio videatur egredi, Deum exposuit, quod putent homines in hac inequalitate rerum illum non juste et ut æquum est judicare.* The כ before שָׁרֵיט has great significance. It is not really an error, it only looks like one—appears such in the superficial view of those whose vision is bound to the present, who cannot survey the whole nor fix the eye upon the end. In v. 6, the ‘evil,’ the apparent ‘error’ is brought to view. It relates to the subject condition of the people of God. The ‘folly’ is, according to the foregoing, that of the Gentiles, and in particular that of the Persians. The ‘rich’ cannot be those who are now rich, for then they would not sit in a low place, but must rather be those who of right should be rich. Israel was, according to the divine intention, a ‘rich’ people. The assurance had been given: ‘there shall be no poor among you’ אֲבִירֶיךָ precisely the opposite of עֲשֵׁרֶיךָ in our passage—‘for the Lord shall bless you,’ Deut. xv. 4. And again: ‘Thou shalt lend unto many nations, and shalt borrow of none—thou shalt reign over many nations, but none shall reign over thee,’ Deut. xv. 6, xxviii. 11. The predestined welfare of Israel was prefigured by the prosperity which the patriarchs enjoyed while they walked in his ways. Compare Gen. xiii. 2: ‘And Abraham was very rich in cattle and in silver and in gold.’”

If “folly” has here an allegorical sense, why is not its opposite, “wisdom,” employed in the supposed reference to the chosen people? In the preceding chapter vs. 13–15, our commentator finds a parable: the “poor man” with his beneficent wisdom is a type of Israel, while the “ruler among fools” is the monarch of the Gentile world. Consistency would seem to demand that the figure should not be changed, especially, since in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, “the rich man” stands for the Persian. Have we not fallen upon a strange complication? Riches in the symbolism of the book represent worldly good, and the rich man, the antithesis of poor Israel, denotes the corrupt and oppressive Persian; yet here, all at once, the symbolical colors have acquired a new

significance. Black has become white. The new application can, indeed, find many texts to support its claim. "Rich" is a common predicate both of people and patriarch; why may it not have the same subject in Ecclesiastes, to which it is applied in Deuteronomy? But we must confess to misgivings about the validity of this textual proof. If, in the history of the patriarchs, Abraham is declared to have been rich, or in the prophecies of Moses prosperity is promised to his people, it remains doubtful whether these facts throw much light on the passage before us; unless, indeed, it be the highest canon of Biblical interpretation to transfuse all Scripture into each particular portion of it.

But time forbids the examination of other passages of the commentary. In several cases, new explanations are given of Hebrew words and phrases, while in other instances, the old views are defended by novel and ingenious methods. The book, like every other production of this author, contains abundant evidence of learning and piety, and offers to the reader both stimulus and instruction. But we are compelled to think that his mode of explaining *Cohelah* is radically wrong. He appears to deny its speculative character, and assumes that it was written as a kind of sermon or tract for the comfort and admonition of the church. In the current of his exegesis everything is made to take what may be styled an ecclesiastical direction—much as if the preacher were a High-church Lutheran born some centuries out of time. It is interesting to watch the power of this ecclesiastical tendency in complicating the explanation of plain language. The universal becomes strangely mingled with the particular, and nothing appears in sharp and definite outline. One no longer stands upon the earth, but is lifted into the air where he sees "men as trees walking." The conditions of time, the ordinary limitations of language, become of small account; for one deals not with men and individual life, but with man and generic life—the church, the organic depository of divine grace—the world, the organic agent of the powers of evil. It is no wonder that the interpreter in such an ecclesiastical mist occasionally loses his bearings, becomes somewhat arbi-

trary, not averse to exegetical conceits, overmuch anti-rationalistic, prone to allegory. Hengstenberg is a man of too much ability and too strong critical sense, to carry this tendency to its utmost length. There is a trace of sound discernment in his most arbitrary fancies, and he shows that he retains always the power of touching solid bottom. Yet in this last work, he has put an unusual restraint upon the exercise of this power, and the consequence is seen in the nature and scope of his exposition.

Hengstenberg calls Ecclesiastes a "Tract for the Time." Such, in some sense, it was, and we may add, also, for every speculative and doubting time. It teaches the thinking mind how it must handle the problem of its existence. Coheleth represents the attitude of a soul pondering the emptiness of all human effort, unable to solve the perplexities of its own experience, yet gravitating with all the energy of right moral feeling towards the only solid result attainable by man. All is vanity except religion—this is the "conclusion of the whole matter." The Preacher casts penetrating glances over the phenomena of life, and gives free expression to the dark surmises, which unfettered thought often suggests. But these doubts have their antidote—they are corrected; not, indeed, by direct refutation (have they ever been thus corrected?) but by holding up the great practical truth on which the soul can always rest. Like the Book of Job, Ecclesiastes exhibits the struggles of a mind perplexed by certain aspects of human life; in the story and result of these struggles lies the lesson it would teach. Travelling the pathway of speculation, the Preacher shows the doubter where lies the true goal. The interpretation of the book, therefore, is a matter not merely of scientific importance, but of the highest practical moment. In a serious but sceptical generation, it becomes no light thing, that inspiration has respected the profound questions of the soul, and dared to seek amid the boldest doubts a solid basis for human action. This fact of itself is a gospel to every perplexed and wavering mind. What earnest thinker, groping after the goal of faith, may not be cheered by the experience of Coheleth? What maker

of a "clothes-philosophy," in his bewildered search after an "everlasting Yea" of positive truth and substantial good, may not study with profit the pattern of these "Hebrew old clothes"—these vestments of ancient inspiration? But if they are to be re-fashioned by exegetical tailoring, and made over into garments of an ecclesiastical cut—if the Preacher is only to utter the tones and rehearse the phrases of a modern churchman; then he is stripped of his rightful dignity and grandeur; he stands forth as the oracle of a narrow party, not as the inspired teacher of mankind.

ART. VII.—THE LAND AND THE BOOK.

The Land and the Book: or Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land. By W. M. THOMSON, D.D., twenty-five years a Missionary of the A.B.C.F.M. in Syria and Palestine. New York. Harper & Bros. 1859. 2 vols., 12mo.

PALESTINE, it would seem, must by this time be an exhausted field. For more than thirty years it has annually been the subject of several volumes. Part of the time it has yielded its harvest every month. It would be difficult to invent a new name for a new production. Besides an immense supply of "Notes," "Journals," and "Travels," we have "The Land of Promise," "The Land of the Bible," and "The Land of Israel," "Palestine Past and Present," "Sinai and Palestine," "Researches in Palestine," "The Crescent and the Cross," "Eothen," and a host of other titles. Clergy and laity, nobility and commonalty, civilians and military men have vied with each other. Governments have sent out exploring parties, and members of parliament have sent in their contributions. Some tell us what they ate and what they drank, and others sketch the people whom they met. This one is an enthusiast in sacred botany, and that one in geology. One

dives into the depths of legendary lore, and another explores the dusty recesses of convents. The result is books of all sorts and sizes from the light evanescent record of "Oriental Acquaintance" up to the permanent and ponderous tomes of Dr. Robinson. But yet, like the plain of Philistia, which our author tells us, has been ploughed for forty centuries and is still as productive as the best lands of our Mississippi valley, the whole country is as fruitful as ever in both the wheat and tares of its literary crop. And Dr. Thomson, though gleaning like Ruth behind all these reapers, seems to fare better than many of his predecessors.

"The Land and the Book" is in the form of two goodly duodecimos of 560 and 614 pp. respectively, containing three maps, 269 wood engravings, and, according to the indexes, illustrations of 705 passages of Scripture. The work is neither a commentary nor an ordinary book of travels. Supposing that Christians would love to travel through "The Land of the Bible," to become better acquainted with its sacred pages, the author volunteers his services as their companion. To use his own words: "Where he has been he proposes to guide his reader, through that good land of mountain and vale and lake and river—to the shepherd's tent, the peasant's hut, the palace of kings and temple of God—to the haunts of the living and the sepulchres of the dead, to muse on what has been and converse with what is, and learn from all what they can teach concerning the oracles of God."*

Few travellers in the Holy Land have the good fortune to fall in with such a dragoman. Born in Ohio on the last day of 1806, Dr. Thomson sailed for Syria October 30, 1832. So that he has spent just half of his two score and twelve years among the scenes and events which he so well describes. He has traversed Syria in all directions from Aleppo, in the furthest north, to Gaza, in the extreme south-west. Many a solitary *wady*, untrodden by travellers since the days of the crusaders, he has explored; his measuring tape has been stretched over and around ruins previously unknown to the literary world, and more than one discoverer owes his disco-

veries to the aid of the missionary who here lays before us his accumulated stores of information.

His own introduction fitly describes the real character of his work :

"The Land where the Word made flesh dwelt with men is an integral part of the divine revelation. Her testimony is essential to the chain of evidences, her aid invaluable in exposition. Mournful deserts and mouldering ruins rebuke the pride of man and vindicate the truth of God, and yawning gulfs from Tophet to the Sea of Death in its sepulchre of bitumen and brimstone, warn the wicked and prophesy of coming wrath. Even the trees of her forests speak parables, and rough brambles bear allegories, while littlesparrows sing hymns to the happy and lilies give lessons to comfort the poor. The very hills and mountains, rocks, rivers and fountains are symbols and pledges of things far better than themselves. In a word, Palestine is one vast tablet whereon God's messages have been graven deep in living characters to be seen and read of all to the end of time.

"The Land and the Book, with reverence be it said, constitute the *entire* and *all-perfect* text and should be studied together. To read the one by the light of the other has been the privilege of the author for twenty-five years, and the great purpose in publishing is to furnish additional facilities for this delightful study to those not so favored. The itinerary commences with 1857, but the scenes described were visited many times during the preceding quarter of a century."

No one who has visited Dr. T.'s study, on one of the most beautiful heights of Lebanon, need be reminded that he is a devoted admirer of nature.

"The Bible," he says, "is not a city book; its scenes are mostly laid in the country—its themes suggested by, and its illustrations drawn from, the same source; there most of it was thought, felt, spoken, acted, and even written. We are scarcely introduced to city life at all, for the first three thousand years of Bible chronology. The Pentateuch was composed in tents, during Israel's long sojourn in the wilderness, and ever after, the reader of the Holy Book is led forth to dwell in tabernacles with patriarchs, or in deserts with prophets and apostles. The poets, also, and sweet singers of Israel, commune almost exclusively with Nature, her scenes, and her scenery; from thence they draw their imagery, if not their inspirations. The same is eminently true of our blessed Saviour; and he who would bring his spirit most happily into communion with this divine teacher, must follow Him afield, must sit on the mountain side and hear Him preach, must stand on the shore of Gennesaret and listen to the gracious words which proceed out of His mouth, must walk with him from village to village, and witness his miracles of healing mercy, and His tears of divine compassion. To reproduce and vitalize all this, we need the country,

and best of all, *this* country; and if our Biblical studies smell of the dew of herbs and of the breath of morning rather than of the midnight lamp, I would have it so. They will be in closer correspondence, thereby, with their original masters, and more true, also, to the actual circumstances under which they have been prosecuted. We do, in fact, read and study, and worship in Nature's holy temple, where God hath set a tabernacle for the sun, and made a way for the moon, with her starry train to walk by night. In this many-aisled temple, eye, and ear, and heart, and every spirit, avenue, and sense of body, share in the solemn worship."—i. 509.

Again he adds (i. 526):

"God so made this land of Canaan that its physical conformation should furnish appropriate types and emblems through which invisible realities should be so pictured to the eye and imagination as to affect the heart. These mountains point to heaven; this sunken sea of death to still lower depths. The valleys, the plains, the brooks and fountains, from the swellings of Jordan to the waters of Siloah, that go softly from under the altar of God, all were so made as to shadow forth, dimly but impressively, divine revelations. No other groupings of natural objects are so significant; no other names can be substituted for these in our spiritual vocabulary; and what they formerly taught they teach now, and will to all generations. Jordan is much more than a mere river, Zion infinitely dearer than any ordinary hill; in a word, the Divine Architect constructed this country after a model infolding in itself and unfolding to the world the mysteries of the life that now is and that which is to be; of redemption and heaven, of perdition and hell. So the providential dealings of God with this land and people still repeat the lessons once addressed to ancient tribes, and expounded by the prophet of the Lord."

But these descriptions, pleasant as they are, do not truly represent the character of the work. Its chief excellence is that it gives new insight into the meaning of "the Book" through a better acquaintance with "the Land." We will glance briefly at a few of its Scripture illustrations. There is one near the opening of the work (pp. 22-25) which is beautiful and appropriate. As the whole is too long for quotation, we will indicate the main points established by the author. First, he shows that the sycamore is the same with the sycamine tree; and that neither is the mulberry, as many critics maintain. (Dr. Royle, in "Kitto's Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," asserts that the sycamine is different from the sycamore, and is the black walnut.) Then he brings out with great clearness and force the meaning of no less than six dif-

ferent passages of Scripture. It is a tree generally planted by the wayside, with giant arms, stretching often quite across the road. This accounts for its being chosen by Zaccheus as at once easy to climb, and also affording a good view of the Saviour as he passed along. (Luke xix. 4.) Again, the fruit is small, very insipid, and used only by the poorer classes. Hence a gatherer of sycamore fruit would belong to the humbler classes, as Amos implies. (Amos vii. 14.) The tree also strikes its roots to a great depth, and in size they correspond with the large branches above; thus giving great force to the words of Christ (Luke xvii. 6), "Say to this sycamine tree, *Be thou plucked up by the roots.*" But the mulberry tree, with which some confound it, is more easily uprooted than any other tree of the same size in the country. The author might have added, that its heavy branching top gives great force to the additional statement of our Lord, "Be thou planted in the sea;" for it is not, "Be thou *cast* into the sea," there to float and wear away, but Be thou *planted* there, to grow and flourish; a beautiful illustration of the seeming impossibilities wrought by the power of faith, as Stier says, in his "Words of Jesus" (iv. 258): "It is a perfect impossibility in the course of nature, and so is a type and symbol of the spiritual, supernatural abiding of believers firm in the tumultuous shifting sea of this world, full as it is of offence and sin." The wood of this tree is soft and of little value; thus illustrating the meaning of Isaiah ix. and 1 Kings x. 27. And, last of all, it grows only on the low plains, and cannot bear the cold of the mountains. Dr. Russell omits it altogether from his list of trees round Aleppo: it cannot live in a plain so far north as that. This shows how it was one of the wonders wrought in Egypt, that their sycamores were destroyed with frost (Ps. lxxviii. 47). Dr. T. might have added to these 1 Chron. xxvii. 28: "Over the sycamore trees in *the low plains* was Baal hanan."

Another tree described by our author is the palm (i. 65-67). Its stem, tall, slender and erect, illustrates the force of the expression, "Thy stature is like to a palm tree." (Canticles vii. 7.) The custom of planting these trees in courts of tem-

ples and palaces illustrates the passage, "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God." (Ps. xcii. 13.) The first palm tree we ever saw was growing in the court of the Jacobite church of Bertulla, where it had been sheltered from the severe cold that had, only a few winters before, killed most of its companions in the region round about. This was then loaded with large clusters of dates, almost ripe, which were inclosed in bags to protect them from the ravages of a species of hornet, that otherwise would destroy the fruit. The next verse, "They shall still bring forth fruit in old age," is beautifully illustrated by the palm tree, which grows slowly and steadily from century to century, uninfluenced by the alternations of the seasons, and patiently yielding its large clusters of golden fruit from generation to generation. It is well known that the palm branch is an emblem of victory and rejoicing; and it is a pleasant fact, related in these pages, that "they are often woven into an arch, and placed over the head of the bier which carries man to his long home, and speaks sweetly of victory and eternal life."

The peculiar customs of the oriental shepherd, which so beautifully illustrated the good shepherd, as described by our Saviour, are perhaps already familiar to most readers of this review. They are enumerated at length, i. 300-305, where, by the way, we have the interesting fact, that when the robber comes, the life of the shepherd is often endangered in the defence of his flock. Says Dr. T., "I have known more than one case in which he had literally to lay it down in the contest. A poor faithful fellow, last spring, (1857?) between Tiberias and Tabor, instead of fleeing, actually fought three Bedawin robbers until he was hacked to pieces with their khanjars (daggers) and died among the sheep he was defending." But a much more interesting picture of the good shepherd than any derived from the routine of daily custom, is presented to us, i. 87. The author is on the banks of the Damûr, below Abeih, and a shepherd is leading his flock across the river. He goes before and they follow him, but not all alike. Some enter boldly and keep close to the shepherd; these cross

with ease ; others hesitate, till far from their guide they miss the ford and cross with difficulty. But some lambs will not plunge in until compelled by the dog. "Poor things, how they leap and bleat in terror. That weak one yonder will be swept into the sea. No, the shepherd leaps into the stream, lifts it into his bosom, and bears it trembling to the shore." Does not this point to that shepherd that leadeth Joseph like a flock, and to that other river which all must cross, and where the believer can say, "I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." How expressive, too, in such a connexion, as Dr. T. appropriately adds, is that precious promise, "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the floods, they shall not overflow thee." (Isa. xliii. 2.)

Vol. ii. p. 413, there is an interesting illustration of the passage: "Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice, with the voice together shall they sing, for they shall see eye to eye when the Lord shall bring again Zion." (Isa. lii. 8.) Expositors have felt the inappropriateness of an allusion to the sentinels of an army or beleaguered fortress in such a connexion, but have not known how else to explain it. Professor Alexander says, *in loco*, "Because the prophets are elsewhere represented as watchmen on the walls of Zion, most interpreters attach that meaning to the figure here, but the restriction is *unnecessary*, since the application of a metaphor to one object does not preclude its application to another, and *objectionable*, as it mars the unity and beauty of the scene presented, which is simply that of a messenger of good news drawing near to a walled town, whose watchmen take up and repeat his tidings to the people within;" yet he still makes the watchmen sentinels on the walls of the town. But the illustration of Dr. T. is much more in unison with the quiet rural beauty of the preceding verse, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." The vineyards are usually on the terraced side of a hill, and as they are often far from the village, and always unfenced, they must be carefully guarded. The watchmen take their stand on the highest points, so that the eye of one surveys the whole up to the point reached by the eye of the next, and in case of

alarm the watchman lifts up a loud cry at the very top of his voice, which is responded to by all the rest. How much more beautiful and appropriate for the good news, "when the Lord shall bring again Zion," to be communicated by these watchmen of the vineyards, than by grim warriors of the camp. One cannot help wishing that the author had told us whether the gentler sex are ever employed as *natûrs*, for if they are, it would illustrate the complaint of the bride, "my mother's children were angry with me, they made me the keeper of the vineyards," Heb. נֹטְרָה (*notaerah*), the feminine form of נֹטֵר (*notaer*), identical with the Arabic *natûr*. (Sol. Song, i. 6.) But he only speaks of *grape gatherers* of every age and sex, p. 411.

We must not forget, however, his graphic illustration of the counsel of our Saviour, "Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter;" (Matt. xxiv. 20,) (i. 329), in the case of the German countess travelling through the country in January with her sick lady's-maid carried in a litter, the rain pouring in torrents, the bearers setting down their burden in the mud; several of the party, meanwhile, plundered by prowling Bedawin, and the whole glad to lie down, near midnight, cold, wet and muddy, in the clothes they stood in, with sundry other discomforts duly recorded. Read the inventory. "Houses not fit for pigs; every door-yard full of mire and filth, the joint contribution of sheep, goats, donkeys, horses, and human beings, worked into a jelly by incessant rain and constant tramping. Through this ineffable mixture you must flounder into a twelve-foot room, already overstocked, and into it your baggage will be tumbled, and then tossed in after you, and all at a cost, in the case of the countess, of not less than fifty dollars a day." Surely it did not need the other *désagrémens* of their situation, which the author has described so minutely, to fill out the picture of utter and cheerless discomfort.

Sometimes in these volumes we stumble across an illustration of the truth of Scripture which is not noticed as such. Witness the statement concerning the slaves of an Arab emir, on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, who had belonged to

the family for so many generations that their complexion had softened into the bronze of the genuine Arab, and the negro features were almost obliterated (ii. 14), which might have been noted as a Syrian testimony to the truth of the Scripture, now doubted by many, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts xvii. 26.)

Perhaps there is no department of Biblical literature where such utter confusion exists, as in the identification of natural objects peculiar to Syria and the adjacent regions. Our author's long residence in that country, and his own taste for studies of this nature, render his testimony on such points unusually trustworthy, and, as might be expected, "The Land and the Book" furnishes some valuable contributions to this department.

Among others, the following are especially worthy of attention: the Hebrew *ברוש* has been translated in a variety of ways. Our version generally calls it the Fir tree; Celsius renders it the Cedar; and Rosenmueller and others, the Cypress. Dr. Royle, in Kitto, decides in favor of this last rendering, but Dr. T. (ii. 266) maintains that it is the Pine of Lebanon. "This tree the Arabs call Snubar, and in my opinion it is the Hebrew *ברוש* (*berosh*), concerning which there is so much confusion in the various translations of the Bible. I suppose that Berosh is the generic name for the pine, of which there are several varieties on Lebanon. Cypress is rarely found there, but pine everywhere, and it is *the* tree used for beams and rafters. *Ers* is the distinctive name for the cedar; *berosh* for the pine."

No one who has ever seen the huge pine beams that support the roofs in Beirut and vicinity, can ask any better illustration of the "rafters of fir," in Canticles i. 17; and as to the floor planks of the same timber mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 15, we have a chest made by Arabs out of the wood in question, which could furnish an argument on the point most *solid and weighty*, if not absolutely conclusive.

Dr. T., in Vol ii. 328, says: "Askelon is especially celebrated for its apples, which are the largest and best I have

seen in the country. When I was here in June, a caravan started for Jerusalem, loaded with such as would not have disgraced even an American orchard. Dr. Kitto (Dr. Royle in the 'Cyclopædia of Bible Lit.') has labored in several of his works to prove that the Hebrew word תפוח, *Taffûah* (better *Tappûah*) means citron; but this strikes us as one of his least happy criticisms. The Arabic word for apple, *Tiffah*, is almost the same as the Hebrew, and is as perfectly definite, to say the least, as our English word, and just as well understood, and so is that for citron. But this is a comparatively rare fruit. Citrons are also very large, weighing several pounds each, and are so hard and indigestible they cannot be used, except when made into preserves. The tree is small and slender, and must be propped up, or the fruit will bend it to the ground. Nobody ever thinks of sitting under its shadow (Cant. ii. 3), for it is too small and straggling to make a shade. I cannot believe, therefore, that this is the tree there spoken of. Indeed it can scarcely be called a *tree* at all, much less be singled out as among the choice trees of the wood. As to the smell (Cant. vii. 8) and color (Prov. xxv. 11), all the demands of these passages are met by the apples of Askelon, and no doubt in ancient times, and in royal gardens, their cultivation was far superior to what it is now, and the fruit larger and more fragrant. Let *Taffûah* (*Tappûah*) therefore stand for apple, as our noble translation has it."

Scholars have usually rendered גלגל (*Galgāl*) chaff or stubble in Ps. lxxxiii. 13. Our version translates it "O my God, make them like a *wheel*." The same word in Isa. xvii. 13, is rendered, "They shall be chased *like a rolling thing* before the whirlwind." These volumes furnish an amusing and doubtless the correct explanation of the word; much better, at least, than Jarchi, "ball of thistle down," or Gill's "round wisp of straw. They tell us (ii. 357), that the wild artichoke forms a globe of about a foot in diameter, and that when dry it is very light, and breaks off at the ground to follow the impulses of the storm. Once on the plain of Hamath, Dr. T.'s horse became quite unmanageable among

thousands of them that rolled and bounded along on the wings of the wind. Though his eyes were half blinded with the stubble and chaff that filled the air, yet the extraordinary movements of this "rolling thing" riveted his attention. Bounding like gazelles in one direction, they would suddenly wheel round at the bidding of a counter blast, and dash away with equal speed on their new course. One of the many forms of Arab cursing runs thus: "May you be whirled like this plant before the wind, till you are caught in the thorns or plunged into the sea." Well may our author add: "If this is not the wheel of David, and the rolling thing of Isaiah, whence they also borrowed their imprecations on the wicked, I have seen nothing in the country to suggest the comparison."

Many readers will be startled to find the huge behemoth of Job, "trusting that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth" (Job xl. 23), dwindling down in the hands of our author into a herd of buffaloes standing in the water, with nothing visible but their horns and noses headed up stream. Yet (i. 384), though he cannot adjust every detail of Job's magnificent description to the buffalo, he deems it the modern, though immensely belittled representative of that chief of the ways of God, who eateth straw like an ox, who lieth under the shady trees in the covert of the reeds and fens; the shady trees cover him with their shadow, the willows of the brook compass him about; for these particulars are exact enough, and apply to no other known animal that can be associated with the Jordan. Some of the bulls are monstrous fellows with bones black and hard like bars of iron. "With the aid of a little oriental hyperbole I can work up these buffaloes into very tolerable behemoth."

The border that compassed the corner of the sea southward, from the hill that lieth before Bethhoron southward (Josh. xviii. 14), which has puzzled commentators so much, is disposed of as the little lake near Gibeon, mentioned again, Jer. xli. 12, as the great waters where they found Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, and where, in 2 Sam. ii. 13, we find Joab and David's men sitting on one side of it, and Abner's army on

the other. This is certainly much more satisfactory than to make the boundary line of Benjamin take a grand sweep from Bethhoron down to the Mediterranean and back again to Kirjathjearim; and as the great laver in the court of the priests was called a sea, surely the pool at Gibeon might receive the same title, "and thus a curious obscurity is cleared away from the face of our good old Bible."

This suggests some other changes of old associations that are called for by Dr. T. Most are accustomed to understand that beautiful passage, Ps. cxxv. 2: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people," as a picture of a high wall of defence on every side. But he says, ii. 541: "None of the surrounding hills, not even Olivet, has any relative elevation above the north-western corner of the city. But Jerusalem is the centre of a mountainous region, whose valleys have drawn around it a perfect net-work of deep ravines, the perpendicular walls of which constitute a very efficient system of defence. The *ravines* on the three sides of the city might be made an important protection, but the *mountains*, whose rugged ramparts and impracticable passes secured the tranquillity of Zion, were at a distance."

Many a traveller, who, like ourselves, has wandered about the Garden of Gethsemane, glad to find at least one place free from the unseemly intrusion of superstition, a quiet spot where the soul could enjoy thoughts of what had been there, undisturbed by the lying impostures of the present, will be surprised to hear that our good missionary doubts the authenticity of the location altogether. His words are (ii. 483): "The authenticity of this sacred garden Mr. Williams says he chooses rather to believe than to defend. I do not even believe." This is rather startling to our cherished associations; but it is some consolation to think it is not the true Gethsemane, when we read a few lines below, that "the Latins have succeeded within a few years in gaining sole possession, and have erected a high wall around it, while the Greeks have invented another site a little to the north." Our author thinks that both are wrong, that the position is too near the

city, and too close to the public road for retirement on that memorable night, and adds, "I am inclined, therefore, to place the garden in the secluded vale several hundred yards to the north-east of the present site, and hidden, as I hope for ever, from the idolatrous intrusion of all denominations," in which hope we most devoutly join.

There is hardly an explorer of Palestine, certainly none of any note, who has not added to the list of places identified with those mentioned in the Scriptures. The writer of "The Land and the Book," has not failed to contribute his quota to the common stock.

One of the most interesting of these, is the identification of Kersa,* a ruin at the mouth of Wady el Semak, on the east shore of Gennesaret, with the ancient Gergesa (ii. 34). The scene of the miracle recorded Matt. viii. 28 seq., has hitherto been located at Umkeis, an hour and a half to the south of the river Yermuk (ancient Hieromax), which is generally taken as the site of the city of Gadara.

The miracle seems to have been assigned to this place, simply because commentators could do no better. They knew not any other disposition to make of it. But Dr. T. effectually corrects that location by three arguments, any one of which alone would seem to be sufficient. (1.) According to Mark v. 2, the demoniac met the Saviour *immediately* upon his coming out of the ship. But Umkeis is three hours from the nearest shore of the lake. (2.) The narrative implies that the city, as well as the country, of the Gergesenes was on the shore. And (3.) there was a steep mountain so near, that the swine, rushing down that, plunged into the lake. But to do this from Umkeis, they must first have run down the mountain for an hour and a half, then forded the Yermuk, a river as deep and difficult as the Jordan itself, and after that raced across a level plain for several miles, a feat which, according to Dr. T., no herd of swine would be likely to achieve, even if they were possessed. But Kersa is within a few rods of

* This name does not occur in the lists of Robinson and Smith, and is not found on any previous map so far as is known to the writer.

the shore; an immense mountain rises directly over it, in which are ancient tombs; and though the place itself is small, yet its ruins show that it was a walled town, and had considerable suburbs. The lake, too, is so near the mountain, that swine, rushing madly down, could not stop till they plunged into the lake, across the narrow belt of land on which the city stood. We are strongly inclined to accept this Kersa as the true Gergesa, and yet we confess we should have been better satisfied had the author told us the exact width of that belt of land. This we think is decidedly the most important, and at the same time most satisfactory, identification in the work. But even here, the reader is conscious of the want of that accurate precision of statement, that renders Dr. Robinson's volumes so invaluable to the scholar.

Capernaum (i. 543), is another site identified by Dr. T. with Tell Hum, on the north-western shore of the lake. Our sympathies prepared us to agree with him, for when we stood on the corner of the plain of Gennesaret at Ain el Tiny, we could not bring ourselves to accept it as Capernaum, all Dr. Robinson's arguments in favor of it notwithstanding. It looked too utterly desolate, too devoid of rubbish and ruins, ever to have been the site of a place so noted. Even the ancient villages of Mesopotamia have left their mounds, but here was nothing. We agree perfectly with Dr. T.'s argument disproving the identity of Ain el Tiny with the fountain of Capernaum; we are disposed to acquiesce in his views about Tell Hum; but when he calls Tabiga a suburb of this same Capernaum (and the maps, his own not excepted, all place it nearly an hour distant—three miles), we confess to some hesitation. This is not diminished when he says, Khan Jub Yûsuf is *midway* between the lake and the bridge of Benat Yakob (ii. 6), whereas the best maps place it in the same latitude with the mouth of the Upper Jordan, and Dr. T. himself says (i. 401), that the bridge is six miles north of that.

Again, Jaulan, according to him, is Job's country (ii. 16). Then a few lines lower down we read, "Job was a great emeer of the Hauran," a district lying to the east of Jaulan, while

most writers, and some things in the book of Job itself, would seem to place the land of Uz to the east and south of both Gaulanitis and Auranatis.

So Jisr Kusraone (i. 437) is said to be *below* Mushgarah, and in his map it is placed *above*.

This same want of accurate statement meets us in his identification of Beit Jibrin and Gath (ii. 360). The names Bethogabra in Hebrew, and Beit Jibrin in Arabic, which may both be rendered House of Giants, predispose us to receive the place as the modern representative of the home of Goliath. But while this inclines us to that belief, we feel the want of some solid foundation on which to base it; and so when we are told that Khurbet Get—ruins of Gath—is the name now applied to one of the heaps of rubbish a *short distance* westward from the castle of Beit Jibrin, we want to ask how short is that distance, before we know just how much weight to attach to the statement? The author may be right in this and some other identifications. He may get at them as women are sometimes said to get at knowledge, by a sort of intuitive perception of the truth; but we could wish, for the sake of his readers in this occidental matter-of-fact world, that his statement of the grounds for some of his conclusions had been more luminous and more thorough.

Since we are in a criticising mood, we will notice some other slips of our author. In ii. 400, he states the age of Jacob at the time of his meeting with Rachel to have been seventy. According to the best chronological tables within reach, he was seventy-seven, and married Leah when he was eighty-four. Of course he got his beloved Rachel at the ripe age of ninety-one.

In the same volume, p. 186, his derivation of our word "ache" from the Hebrew *achor*, would scarcely be accepted by lexicographers.

There is an inconsistency between pp. 369 and 416. In the former he argues to disprove the common opinion of the disreputable character of David's followers in the wilderness, and with a good deal of success as it seems to us. In the latter he falls into the common opinion so far as to speak

of "the heterogeneous and not very respectable band that followed him."

One frequently recurring imperfection in the volumes before us, is the repetition of the same fact twice, and in two instances at least, three times. We find that we have marked no less than twelve of the first, as for example, volume i. we have the statement on p. 320: "Of these main branches of the Jordan, the Hasbany is the longest by 540 miles, the Leddan is much the largest, and the Baniasy the most beautiful," repeated thus on p. 388: "Of these streams, the Leddan is far the longest, the Baniasy the most beautiful, the Hasbany the largest." This at least convinces us of the accuracy of the statement in both cases. But it is not well for a book to give too many opportunities for such cross-examination.

Wives in the East, we are told, are utterly untrustworthy (i. 187, and ii. 363 and 572). This we doubt not is true, but the author is hardly gallant in exposing their failings with such pertinacity. Sometimes these repetitions are far apart, as for example the description of the waterspout, i. 499, and again ii. 257; and at other times they follow in close succession, as the equality of Arab sheikhs and their followers in dress and occupation, ii. 399 and 408. The law of Moses, in reference to raiment that is pledged, is illustrated three times in a single volume, (i. 84, 180, and 500).*

Our Saviour says that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, and the book illustrates this most admirably in the writer's cordial abhorrence of the Bedawin. The manner in which this breaks forth at every opportunity is most refreshing. There is a wholesome heartiness about it

* Those curious in such matters may find Dent. xxiv. 10 and 11 illustrated at i. 192 and 500. Mention of trees sacred to Jin and adorned with rags, i. 372 and ii. 151. The wood of Ephraim, 2 Sam. xviii. 8, i. 374, 473, and ii. 234. Relatives preferred to strangers for wives, Gen. xxiv. 4, i. 451, and ii. 403. Vineyards and Dibs, ii. 391 and 411. In the index Dib sis referred to neither of these, but only to p. 41. Mallows, Job, xxx. 14, i. 527 and ii. 437. Why Boaz slept at the thrashing-floor, Ruth iii. 7, i. 518, ii. 511. The food of John the Baptist, Matt. iii. 4, ii. 108 and 537. Kuryet el Ainub an appropriate place for a colony of disbanded troops, ii. 308 and 540, &c.

that is good to see. On four different occasions they are shown to be barbarians and named accordingly (i. 360 and ii. 176, 191 and 348.) In four additional pages they are thoroughly shown up, and we cannot forbear quoting one of them as a sample of the honesty with which the author abhors that which is evil :—ii. 46, he says

“I am amazed to find highly cultivated gentlemen eulogists of the Bedawin. Burckhardt was both a learned and a straightforward man, and yet he seems to have been captivated with the character and customs of these wild Arabs, but according to his own account they are a nation of liars, thieves and robbers, with all the vices that ever must attend such a life. They are also cowardly and mean ; rarely do they venture to attack even a very inferior party if prepared to resist, but whenever and wherever they overtake a defenceless stranger, they pounce on him like hungry wolves. Even helpless women and children are stripped without mercy or remorse. True to their whole character they tyrannize over the women, who are in fact their drudges and their slaves. The men lounge in idleness, smoke and gamble. They are execrably filthy and foulmouthed, very ignorant and supremely proud. Their very virtues are vices. Their vaunted hospitality is a mere social regulation, and without something of the kind, these troops of land pirates could not even exist. Away then with this mawkish complacency in the brutal character of these insolent barbarians. They would reduce Paradise to a howling wilderness in five years, and no righteous government would tolerate them for a day.”

For our own part we believe “the Cretans,” who one of their own poets said were “always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies,” and concerning whom an Apostle said, “this witness is true, wherefore rebuke them sharply,” were not one-half so bad. And we should like to see how much better this world would be, at least in that quarter, which they make desolate, if a government like-minded with our author, would only give them their just deserts.

The book is worthy to be read by every lover of the Bible. It will increase interest in that best of all books, and link together its most sacred utterances in the devout mind, by new associations. The book has appeared most opportunely in the present state of religious interest in the land. Man cannot always be in the exercise of seraphic devotion. His mind craves variety. And this is one of those books which,

while affording that needful variety, sends us back to the spiritual reading of the Bible with new relish ; nor that alone, but also prepared to discern more of the hidden beauty of the truth, and more of those bonds that link the whole together.

The author of the Bible intended that, in the minds of youth especially, the truth should not only be associated with its appropriate place in a system of sound theology, but also with the pleasant vale and the running brook, the quiet lake, and scenes of rural beauty ; and here is a work that will create such associations never to be forgotten.

It popularizes one of the most interesting departments of sacred literature, and brings within the reach of the masses truths hitherto unknown to the ponderous folios of the learned. May its popularity be as great as it deserves.

ART. VIII.—CHRIST : PROPHET, PRIEST AND KING.

THE Jewish Rabbins ascribed to the Messiah a threefold dignity, "the crown of the Law, the crown of the Priesthood, and the crown of the Kingdom." This is the comprehensive result of the Old Testament declarations about the promised Mediator. The New Testament also sets forth Christ as the Great Teacher, the Great High Priest, and the King of kings and Lord of Lords. At the beginning of the fourth century, the church historian, Eusebius, refers to it as a common view (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 3), that the whole work of Christ as Mediator is embraced in these three offices ; for, he says, "High Priests, Kings, and Prophets were anointed as types, so that they all had respect to the true Christ, the Logos full of God, who is the only High Priest of the whole, the only King of all creation, and the only arch-Prophet of the prophets of the Father." Chrysostom gave sanction to this representation in the Greek church, and Augustine and Aquinas in the Latin.* It was

* Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christl. Glaubens*, Bd. ii. s. 203 (edition of 1858),

less frequently used in the later periods of scholastic divinity, when the sense of Christ's personal presence had become obscured, and the external church was substituted for the living High Priest and King. In the Reformation the person of the Mediator was again presented as the direct object of faith; and to express his incomparable fulness, his three-fold offices were made prominent. Calvin (*Institutes* ii. 15) says: "That we may know why Christ was sent by the Father, and what he was to bring to us, three points are to be especially regarded: the prophetical office, the kingdom, and the priesthood." Among the Lutherans, Gerhard, following Melancthon, adopted the same three-fold division. It passed over into the catechisms and common speech of almost all the Protestant churches. Thus, in the words of the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly: "What offices doth Christ execute as our Redeemer? The offices of a prophet, of a priest, and of a king, both in his estate of humiliation and of exaltation."

When rationalism became predominant in Germany, this mode of describing the functions of the Mediator fell into disuse, and more indefinite formulas were substituted. For it is of the essence of the rationalistic method to put the indefinite for the definite, the abstract for the concrete. Ernesti and his school maintained, that in the three-fold offices of Christ the symbols were arbitrarily selected, and that others might as fitly have been added to them; that the doctrine of the three offices was not a proper doctrine, but had only a figurative or tropical import. Even Knapp yielded to these suggestions. But when the contest against rationalism was renewed, the three offices of the Mediator were again emphasized. Schleiermacher, with all his shortcomings on other points, had the sagacity to perceive that if this doctrine could be

cites from Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm. lix.*: "*Ab unctione Christus, Jesus vocatus est a salute, quia et unctio, quæ per reges, prophetas et sacerdotes olim cucurrerat in figuram, in hunc Regem regum, Sacerdotem sacerdotum, prophetarum Prophetam tota se plenitudine Spiritus, divinitatis effudit, ut regnum et sacerdotium, quod per alios præmiserat temporaliter, in auctorem ipsum refunderet et redderet sempiternum.*"

resolved into a mere figure, the process would not end here. In his *Glaubenslehre* he advocated the revival of the old formulas, although he did not put the full sense of the church into each of the offices. He says (Band ii. s. 122 sq.) that this division, at the first look, may appear arbitrary; that, for example, it might seem more natural to take the symbol of the Good Shepherd than that of a king; but then, on the other hand, it is still more wonderful that the doctrine should have been so generally received if it have not a substantial basis; and though it may not be all that we need for full instruction, yet that it does show how Christ fulfilled the same functions for his church as were in other ways answered by the arrangements under the old dispensation. And he proceeds to expound the Mediator's work under this three-fold distribution. The same course has been followed by almost all the later German divines, even those not orthodox; thus, for example, in the works of Hase, Lange, Thomasius, and Nitzsch. The latter says (in his *System d. christlichen Lehre*, § 132): "We cannot speak of a trope where there is the most perfect realization of the idea of an office, and not a mere similarity of office." He then states, in substance, that these three offices were recognized as essential under the old dispensation; that all who there held them fell far below the promises and predictions; that in the great epochs of the Jewish history there was always an attempt to combine them in one person; and that this personal union was fully realized only in Christ, who was prophet and eternal king, and at the same time a priest after the order of Melchisedec. As illustrating such anticipatory attempts, Josephus, in his *Jewish War*, speaks of John Hyrcanus "as alone having what was most excellent, the rule of the nation, the high priesthood, and prophecy."

This representation of Christ, then, as clothed with his three-fold mediatorial functions, has high authority in its favor. It will at least be conceded that it calls up vivid images of the whole Christ, in all his chief relations. Christ as the Good Shepherd,—the favorite symbol of the early Christians, as seen in the Catacombs—attracts us to his loving

care for shelter ; Christ, as the Judge, awes us by his sublime authority ; but Christ, as Prophet, Priest and King, appeals to all we are, and supplies all we need. As our Great Teacher, he imparts to us words of divine wisdom ; as our High Priest, he suffers and dies in our stead upon the cross ; and as our King, he rules over and in us, subduing his and our enemies. And this representation we conceive to be valid, not merely in figure, but also in fact. What more can or need be said to complete the full character of the Mediator ? These ancient and hallowed symbols of the wisdom, the sacrifice and the power of our Redeemer, are not symbols alone ; they are the very reality of truth ; they constitute a proper doctrine, or article of faith. The one Mediator between God and man must wear these three offices ; only the Mediator can bear them ; he could not be a complete Mediator unless he were Prophet, Priest and King. By the doctrine of the Three Offices, all Christ's work is defined ; in it, all his work is comprehended. To take away or limit either of them, is to rob Christ of a part of his essential glory.

To introduce our discussion of this point, as well as to illustrate the import of these three offices, we may refer to the fact, that the most cultivated nations have recognised the need of these three orders of office to the well-being of the state. No people, mighty in history, has been without teachers, priests, and rulers. The very instinct of human nature in relation to its highest wants seems to demand just this threefold form of official rank in an organized social state. In the midst of all the sinfulness and degradation of heathenism there is this prophetic and typical embodiment and prefigurement of what the head and redeemer of the race must be. Mankind must have prophets to teach and to foretell, though their words were double-tongued ; they must have priests to minister at the bloody altar, though no real expiation followed the sacrifice ; they must have princes and rulers over them, though they were such despots as those of Assyria, of Babylon, and of Egypt, and though the race was crushed in aggrandizing the fame of an Alexander and the empire of a Cæsar. Prophets, priests and kings are

everywhere found ; these three, and only these, as the highest forms and expression of official rank.

As among the heathen, so also among the people of God, his elect race, we find the same three offices in a higher and purer form, as symbols signifying the functions, and as types announcing the advent, of the coming Messiah. The whole of the Old Testament is a prophecy of the New : the New is hidden in the Old ; the Old is the historical root of the New. One might as well believe in an oak and deny the acorn from which it sprung, as to say that Christianity is of God, and Judaism merely human. Pervading the whole of the elder economy are the institutions of prophets, priests and kings. The glory of the Israelites was here. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was taught the name of Jehovah, that he might himself teach it ; as a priest, he entered into covenant with God ; and as a prince he ruled his patriarchal house ; and thus was he a type of the promised Messiah. The whole history of the Israelites centres in these three points : Moses and the prophets, Aaron and the priesthood, and David and the royal house. Here were the grand institutes of the theocracy. Through a thousand years inspired prophets taught in the name of the Lord ; in the degeneracy of Israel, they spoke of still deeper woes to come ; in its lordliest days, they held up the glad vision of yet brighter times in store. Kings also ruled in majesty ; yet even David was but a type of him who was to come of the root of Jesse. A whole tribe was set apart to the office of the priesthood ; the shadow and symbol of the Great High Priest. The whole history of the Hebrew nation, in short, can only be distinctly read in the light of these three words : Prophet, Priest and King.

Not alone in these general types, but in specific promise, it was foretold that the Anointed One was to bear these offices. Judaism struggled to realize them in its history ; but throughout this history they were kept separate ; they were to be, and could be combined only in the Messiah. He was to be anointed for all these, and for none other ; for it is said, that he was to be anointed to preach the gospel to the poor, as king, he was to be anointed with the oil of gladness

above his fellows (Heb. i. 9, comp. Ps. xlv., Isa. lxi. 1); his priesthood was to be through an unction from above, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life. The whole of the latter portion of the prophecy of Isaiah represents Christ as the servant of God, who was to teach, to suffer and die, that he might rule in triumph. He was to be a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec. (Ps. cx. 4.) He was to be led as a lamb to the slaughter. He was to teach all nations and bring in an everlasting righteousness. Of the increase of his government there was to be no end; his dominion was to be from sea to sea, from the river to the end of the earth; the heathen were to be his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth his possession.

In such exalted strains did the prophetic word depict the coming glories of the Son of God, and the sum of all is this: Prophet, Priest and King.

As was the word of prophecy in the Old Testament, so was the fact of history in the New Testament. That also affords the most decisive warrant for summing up the whole work of the Mediator in these three offices. The three distinct offices are combined and concentrated in the one person of the God-man. The carnal Jewish mind looked for a temporal prince, attended with the pomp of worldly magnificence; but the King of the Jews, anointed of old, appeared as a simple teacher, suffered indignity and death, and showed his regal power by subduing death, hell and the grave. He disappointed every earthly hope and fulfilled every divine prediction. He was greeted as a prophet, sent of God; he spake as never man spake; he foretold his own death, the destruction of the degenerate city that rejected him, and the victories of his kingdom. He revealed God to man, and thus showed himself to be the very Word of God. He was at once the living law and the living gospel. His words are spirit and life; heaven and earth may pass away, but his word shall never pass away. And not only is Christ thus a prophet, he is also the chief and the last of the prophets; the whole of prophecy has in him its summary and completion. That the New Testament also represents the Mediator as the great

High Priest, the only real sacrifice, hardly needs to be argued. He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He offered himself through the eternal Spirit without spot unto God. All other oblations are ineffectual; the blood of bulls and goats could not take away sin; but he said, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." And by the blood of Jesus, that new and living way, we have boldness of access. The epistle to the Hebrews is one grand demonstration, not only that Christ is the High Priest of our apostate race, but that he alone is, or can be, such; all others are but shadows. And that same epistle conjoins his regal with his priestly functions; for it is this High Priest who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens. And John, in the apocalyptic vision (ch. iv.), sees the heavenly hosts casting their crowns before his throne, saying, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and blessing." His crown of thorns becomes an imperial diadem. "God," says Paul, "hath exalted him and given him a name that is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow" (Phil. ii. 9, 10). All things are put under his feet; he is the head over all things to the church, which is his body (Eph. i. 22, 23). He is King and Lord for ever.

Thus, here again, as the burden and sum of the New Testament, we find prophet, priest, and king, these three offices, and only these, and these in all their fullness, ascribed to the Mediator, and to him alone.

The historical and scriptural evidence, then, in favor of comprehending the work of Christ in just these offices, is complete and sufficient. To parry its force all that can be alleged is, that one of the three offices might be resolved into another. A doctrinal statement of the Redeemer's work, it may be said, should have a more general and a less concrete form. But if these offices are essentially distinct and distinguishable, and if they all belong to his work as Mediator, such a procedure would be arbitrary, and in thus transforming the declarations of the Bible into a doctrinal form we should be in danger of restricting, not stating its sense. And that these offices are quite distinct and distinguishable will

appear from an account of what respectively belongs to them, as ascribed to Christ.

The term prophet, as is well known, is not confined in Scripture to one who merely predicts the future; it is applied in a broader sense to him who is commissioned to reveal the will of God, especially as to salvation. The prophet is a revealer; he brings new truths to light. And Christ is emphatically the great revealer. What a flood of light his wisdom has poured upon the human race! The true prophet sees all things as centering in the kingdom of God; and Christ first taught men truly to know the spiritual nature and extent of that kingdom. The office of a prophet is not to teach literature, or science, or art, but those great moral and spiritual truths which unveil the secrets of our destiny; and Christ has no name or fame in the annals of mere scholarship and philosophy, though his words have reached the very thoughts and intent of the human heart. As the Great Teacher, he stood in the very centre of human history, and interpreted all the past, and predicted all the future. Under the old dispensation he taught as well as under the new; his Spirit inspired the seers of Judea. And, unlike all other teachers, he speaks as one who knoweth the Father, even as the Father knoweth him; not as an inspired man, but as the Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father. And all his teachings centre in himself; to receive his teachings is to receive himself. He is the king of truth, he teaches the heart and not the ear; "he gives not only light, but sight." And though no longer on the earth, yet still by his word and Spirit he leads his disciples into all truth, ever illuminating with divine wisdom those who are sanctified by his grace.

But the Lord of glory became incarnate, not alone or chiefly to be our teacher, but that he might become our High Priest, reconciling God to man and man to God. A priest is one who presents a sacrificial offering to satisfy the justice of God in the pardon of the transgressor. This office of the Mediator, implied in the whole New Testament, is fully described in the epistle to the Hebrews. Every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God,

that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sin (Heb. v. 1). Now, once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to take away sin by the sacrifice of himself. The personal object of this sacrifice was the human race; its real object was sin. He became the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. His priesthood and sacrifice are so far from being figurative that, on the contrary, he is the only real priest, and his is the only real sacrifice. He alone could be a pure and voluntary victim; he alone, as the God-man, could become a vicarious sufferer for the whole race; and his is the only offering ever accepted as a full expiation and propitiation. He was made of a woman, made under the law, that he might redeem them that are under the law. He bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us. He became sin for us, though he knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him; that God might be just, and justify him that believeth. He tasted death for every man. And having offered this sacrifice as a priest in the outer court, he also entered within, into the holiest, into heaven itself, there to intercede in our behalf, still clothed upon with the human nature, which he carried unsullied and victorious, through the agony of death, to the very right hand of the Father.

His humiliation was followed by his exaltation; the crown of glory took the place of the crown of thorns; his priesthood passed over into his regal dominion in the kingdom of grace, though he had also ruled in majesty from the beginning. As king in his spiritual kingdom, he subdues us unto himself, and will at last be the judge of the quick and the dead. His kingly might is seen in breaking the bonds of sin; it is most deeply felt by every new-born soul. And he shall reign until all things are put under his feet. And thus far in human history the sufferer upon Calvary has borne unequalled sway. Empires have passed away, but his kingdom remains; new races have sprung up, and his kingdom has subdued them; new worlds have been discovered, and have bowed to his sceptre. He that rules the saints is yet to rule the nations,

as Immanuel, Prince of Peace. The isles of the sea wait for his law; the ends of the earth are to meet in his kingdom; the king of grace is to become the king of glory.

Such is the scriptural import of these three offices as ascribed to Christ. No one can be resolved into another; all are expressly ascribed to the Mediator. And thus we have the basis for our main inquiry, that is, Can the offices of Christ be taken merely as figurative descriptions; or, have they an inward doctrinal force and fitness? Must this doctrine be banished, as some would have it, from the sphere of the stricter statements in systematic theology into the domain of tropes or metaphors?

The whole course of our argument admits, we think, of only one answer to this question. Other names given to Christ, as Head, Surety, Pastor, Judge, do not so distinctly designate different offices, are not used with such constancy throughout the Scriptures, or can be resolved into one or another of these three fundamental mediatorial functions.*

But not to tarry on this point, we may add, that there is an inherent propriety in having these, and only these three offices, in the work of the Mediator. If man is to be fully redeemed, his Redeemer must have these three functions, and need have none other. For redemption from sin involves at least these three particulars; it must give us a knowledge of God's plan, in the way of a specific revelation; an atonement for sin must be provided; and there must also be deliverance from the power and consequences of sin in an eternal kingdom. These three points are essential to a completed redemption from sin, and these three give us a complete redemption. And these three are the points met, and precisely met, in the three offices of our Lord, as they are set forth in Scripture. As Prophet, he reveals; as Priest, he atones; as King, he subdues us to himself. And so, too, Christ in these offices is adapted to the three great faculties of the human soul; to the intellect, to the feelings and to the will; though, at the same time, in each of his offices he

* The editor of "Ridgely's Body of Divinity" is inclined to resolve the three into two offices.—i. 492.

may, and does appeal to all of our powers. As Mediator between God and man, Christ must address and be adapted to the whole man. As our Teacher, he addresses the intellect; as our Sacrifice, he appeals to the deepest moral wants of the heart; and as King, he guides and rules our wills, making them conformed to his will. And thus is he, in all his offices, brought into intimate relation with all parts of human nature, and in each of them he is peculiarly, though not exclusively, adapted to a part of that nature. The distribution of our Saviour's work into these three functions has, then, a basis in the very idea of redemption, and in the fact that he thus meets the wants of the whole man. It is a division as profound as it is simple; it is not merely a superficial personification, but has a substantial basis.

And these three offices are necessary to each other; as much as intellect, heart and will are necessary to each other, as well as to man. To feel, we must perceive; and to will, we must know and feel. Thus, too, Christ could not be a priest, unless he were a prophet; nor could he be the great prophet of redemption, unless he were also its priest; nor could he rule in such a kingdom of redemption, unless he were also both priest and prophet; nor could he be such a prophet and such a priest, unless he were also king. His teaching prepares his disciples to know the meaning of his atoning work; and his sacrificial death is the grand basis of his claim to our supreme love as our Head and Lord in his mediatorial dominion.

It is only, too, by viewing Christ in all his offices, that men are kept from one-sided and partial notions of his work as the Redeemer. It is indeed true, that he appeared chiefly as a prophet during his life; chiefly as a priest in the agony of death; chiefly as a king, when ascended to the right hand of the Father. But as a prophet he taught even upon the cross, and still teaches by his illuminating Spirit. His whole life, as well as his death, was in his priestly character, suffering shame and humiliation. And his kingly power was manifested even while here on the earth in divine signs and wonders; yea, in the very grave, conquering death and hell

by his mighty power. One of the grand sources of error among those who do not receive Christ in all his fulness is that they dwell upon one of his offices to the partial exclusion of the others, or as if that one were all. But granite is granite, because it is made up of quartz, feldspar and mica. Washington is the father of his country, because he was not only a general, but also a statesman and a President. And Christ is Mediator, because he is Prophet, Priest and King. Many, however, revere him in one or another of his names; not receiving him in all his work. This one takes the Saviour as the Great Teacher; another dwells most fondly upon his atoning work; another views him chiefly as the Lord of spiritual life. But he is each and all together. We know him not fully or truly, until we know him as our Prophet, giving to us the words of eternal wisdom; as our Priest, who paid the ransom for our souls; and as our King, ruling over and in us. And when the believer thus knows him, then he also knows that there can be but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, the King and Lord of our souls, our Redeemer.

Not only does Christ thus sustain these offices for us, and over us, but by and through them he also works within the soul, transforming his disciples into the likeness of himself. Just as botany teaches, that all the branches, leaves, flowers and fruit of the vine are formed on the same principle and law with the root; so does Scripture assure us that all the church is to be formed on the same law, and exemplify the same spirit, and fill, as far as it may, the like offices with those of its head. As he was a teacher, so he said to his disciples, "Go and teach all nations." He alone could be the world's High Priest; but his followers are to die with him daily, to have fellowship in his sufferings, to live, and if need be, die for the redemption of the world. He rose from the dead, leading captivity captive, and his disciples are daily to rise again to newness of life, and to know the full power of his resurrection when this mortal shall put on immortality. He has received all power in heaven and on earth, and has committed to his church the power of the keys, declarative

indeed, and in subserviency to him, yet a real authority in binding and loosing. The saints are to inherit the earth; not in the sense of the wild dream of the Fifth-Monarchy men of England, but yet in accordance with the promise of him to whom every knee shall bow and every tongue confess. And thus is there in Scripture a constant parallel suggested between the head and the members, the vine and its branches. His people are to be kings and priests unto God, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people. The work of Christ is fulfilled in them, as it refashions them in his glorious image, grace for grace; each grace in the Saviour's person, having its correspondence in the souls of his redeemed ones. Beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, they are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord; so that when he shall appear we shall be like him.

An old Jewish tradition tells us "that the secret of man is the secret of the Messiah." What man is, and is made to be, he knows only as he knows Christ. The secret of our being, the enigmas of our destiny, are revealed to us in him alone. "Nature," says Pascal, "teems with evidence of a God that hides himself," but Christ is full of a God revealing himself to us in all his wisdom, power, and grace. And in revealing himself to us, he reveals us to ourselves. Through and by Christ's three-fold office we learn the dignity and the destiny of human nature. Man in his primeval estate of innocence was doubtless made, as Krummacher suggests, to be prophet, priest and king; as a prophet to hold communion with God; as a priest to sacrifice his will to God's; and as a king to have dominion over the whole of nature, of which he was made the crown and the head. By his sad apostasy in the first Adam he forfeited his prophetic office, his priestly virtue, and his rightful dominion. But the second Adam, which is the Lord from heaven, became for us prophet, priest and king, that he might reinstate us in our lost heritage.

By and through his three offices the Mediator is thus brought into the most close and vital connexion with his people. This high doctrine is also a great practical truth. It is

not an abstraction, but the very reality; it is truth clad with a personal form and impressiveness. It gives a living idea of Christ's whole work. Well has it been said by Martenzen, that "this constant living relation between the church and its invisible head is the fundamental mystery on which the church rests." And this mystery is also a revelation, when we thus view Christ in all his relations to the new spiritual life. He is thus brought into immediate communion with his followers; their sense of his personal presence and fitness to all their wants is enlivened. He speaks to us to-day as really as he did to his chosen twelve in the cities and on the plains of Judea; he intercedes for us to-day as truly as he did for the disciples that hung upon his lips when he offered his hallowed prayer of intercession; he guides our steps as really now, as he guided the steps of Peter, James and John, when he walked with them day by day. Taught by him the unlearned become wise; redeemed by him the unholy become blameless; ruled by him, the slave of sin becomes the freeman of the Lord, and has the right of citizenship in the kingdom of God, the heavenly Jerusalem. To speak with St. Bernard, as cited by Calvin (Inst. i. p. 327), "The name of Jesus is not only light, but food also; it is likewise oil, without which all the food of the soul is dry; it is salt, without whose seasoning whatever is offered is tasteless; in fine, it is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, a jubilee in the heart, and at the same time a medicine; and all discussions are senseless where this name is not sounded."

"Live in me, Prophet, Priest, and King!
As Prophet, lead me in thy light;
As Priest, present my offering;
Lead and restrain me by thy might,
So that, as King, thou may'st fulfill
In me thy kingdom—all thy will.
Live, Christ, live Thou in me."

ART. IX.—THE PROPHECIES OF HEATHENDOM.

Not more poetically than philosophically has it been said by one who unites poet and philosopher in himself, that every rank of creatures, as it ascends in the scale of creation, finds its perfection in imitating that which is next above it. "The metal, at its height of being, seems a mute prophecy of the coming vegetation, into a mimic semblance of which it crystallizes. The blossom and flower, the acme of vegetable life, seems to approximate to the flower-shaped Psyche which flutters with free wing above it. And who that has watched their ways with an understanding heart, could contemplate the filial and loyal bee—the house-building, wedded, and divorceless swallow—the manifoldly intelligent ant tribes, with their commonwealths and confederacies, their warriors and miners, the husband-folk that fold in their tiny flocks on the honied leaf—and not say to himself, behold the shadow of approaching humanity—the sun rising from behind in the kindling morn of creation! All lower natures find their highest good in semblances and seekings for that which is higher and better. All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving."*

The most rapid outline of the Old Testament Scriptures is sufficient to convince even the superficial, that they record a system, a constitution of things which is constantly pointing to something higher and better than itself. This reaching forward, this looking upward in perpetual prophecy and promise, is the most striking feature of the Hebrew polity and worship, in every stage of their development. Their true meaning and design are discovered in that which comes after them. They were not ultimate but preparatory; "God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect."† When, at length, Judaism had reached its height, the zenith which it could not surpass, itself expired in giving birth to Him who was the Life of the

* Coleridge Abridged.

† Heb. ii. 40.

World. The scenery of the drama changes. The hours even of the night are fleet-footed, and hastening toward the morning. There is a purpling in the east, towards which the eyes of the waking are turned.

One thing should never be overlooked. These prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures do not outrun their historic relations. They are not painted on the skies. They are not cloud-scenery, formless, shifting, and evanescent. They are not airy and indefinite, like those visions which swim before the imagination. They take the well-defined form of those historic objects with which they were associated. They spring from a historic basis. Zion was not a mere idea, but an actual city, with walls and gates. The Temple which was reared therein was something more substantial than the airy architecture in the clouds, by which Mr. Cole has represented the aspirations and dreams of youth. The King who reigned in Judah was not an ideal man, but a historic personage. The poet has described,

“The prophetic soul
Of the great world, dreaming of things to come.”

But just here is the difference between all the dreamings and divinations of man, and the prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures:—the latter take the definite and accurate form of the Hebrew polity. They are history pushed forward and perfected in the future. The reign of one King is made the promise of another King who is greater. The services of one High Priest are made the type of another transcending all his predecessors. The Holy of holies and the blood of sprinkling all promise a better sacrifice in a better Tabernacle. A national deliverance from foreign subjugation is made to foreshadow a larger and worthier redemption; and so throughout the whole structure of the Hebrew prophecies. They take the form, the well-defined form, of those historic objects and events from which they sprung. They are not idealism at all. They are the blossoming on the top of a historic stem. History and prophecy are joined together in all the progress of Revelation. Men may make lucky guesses.

They may reason, conjecture, imagine what will come to pass; and events *may* justify the prediction. But the peculiarity of the Hebrew prophets was that, springing out of a historic present, they described a historic future. They promise another Zion, another King, another Prophet, another Priest, another Redeemer, in the use of language which actual history had formed and made intelligible; so that, as a whole, they pledge the coming of a Living Person, and the rise of an actual state of things which may best be represented by all of dignity, and honor, and power, and dominion—by all of purity, and gladness, and greatness, which had already been associated with Jewish history. Our religion is not composed of mere ideas, but of *facts*. And that future which is made bright by the Hebrew prophets, is not like the aurora of the northern pole, flashing its formless brilliancy in vacancy; it promises the advent of a Living Being, who is to proclaim truth, deliver from wrong, and establish a perpetual and universal reign of righteousness, love and joy.

In connexion with the symbols and prophecies which give substance to the Old Testament Scriptures, there is one topic too interesting and important to be overlooked.

There are those whose faculties are sharpened to unusual sagacity in suggesting doubts concerning the divine origin of Revelation. Descant on the extraordinary character of the prophecies which abound in the Hebrew Scriptures, and they will affirm that there are in the writings of other nations, who were never distinguished by such a history as that of the Jews, many similar predictions, for which a divine origin was never claimed; that we attach too much importance to the forecastings of the Hebrew prophets, and deduce from them conclusions beyond what facts will justify, since parallelisms of the same prophecies may be found in the books of pagan Greece and Rome. The object of this assertion is very obvious. These vaticinations of the heathen mind were shadows—therefore, what is called Divine Revelation is a shadow also. Far different is the use which we would make of this asserted fact; allowing what is claimed, that certain

prophecies, if they must be called such, of a very remarkable character, exist outside of the direct line of the Hebrew constitution, may not this fact be so interpreted as to confirm and not dilute our faith in one positive revelation from the Almighty? We are disposed, therefore, to give this subject a very respectful consideration. We cannot agree with those who judge it to be for the interest of Christianity to deny all truth outside of its own prescribed channels, to make Paganism as false, and truthless, and corrupt, and black as possible, lest by admitting the presence of anything in it which is true, in that proportion you seem to throw doubt upon the claims of Christianity itself. The apostle to the Gentiles had no sympathy with such a sentiment when, addressing an Athenian audience, he quoted with approbation a sentiment of the Grecian poets. An error exploded, an objection answered, is a new and potent argument for the truth. Many a witness intended to testify against a cause, before his examination is closed becomes an irrefutable proof of that which he purposed to falsify; and we are greatly astray if it does not appear before this subject is disposed of, that what has been regarded by some as casting suspicion upon the divine origin of our Christian Revelation, is converted into a most interesting and important witness in favor of all which is claimed for this one positive communication from God.

We will not, therefore, deny, but admit the fact, that in certain Greek and Latin authors, now in our hands, there are to be found a few remarkable passages, bearing resemblance to some of those Hebrew prophecies which foretell the coming of the Messiah. We make no reference now to those *Oracles* of the heathen, whose replies were so shrewdly framed as to bear a double construction, mere tricks and plays upon words—for no one, to our knowledge, has pretended to believe that they were anything else than imposture and deceit. If any one is curious to be informed of the manner in which the fraud was achieved so adroitly, let him examine the *Oracle* in the temple excavated at Pompeii, where this very day, is disclosed the ingenious arrangement by which a priest, concealed from view behind pillars and walls of stone, could command

a sight of the person making inquiry, and whisper through invisible cavities, those appropriate answers, which were supposed to come from the voice of a god. All such "lying wonders," and "lying divinations" as the Scriptures accurately call them, all such mere tricks, and falsities, and impostures, are deserving of no further notice, and are not to be confounded with the more dignified sentiments which embalmed in the choicest relics of classic antiquity, merit our greatest attention.

The passages now referred to, justice requires us to state, are very few in number. No one pretends that they form a body, a connected whole, like the Hebrew prophecies. They are like boulders scattered here and there over an immense space. They are something exceptional and extraordinary. You could count upon the fingers of one hand all the most remarkable of this class which have been discovered in the whole compass of classical literature. The two which have attracted the most notice, are, one in the writings of Plato, that noble personification of pure reason, whose very name was given to denote the breadth of his forehead, the seat of a broader intellect; and the other in Virgil, whose fourth Eclogue was the model on which Mr. Pope confessedly fashioned his own immortal ode on the *Messiah*. Both of these passages appear to anticipate the advent of some extraordinary personage, who will bring blessings to mankind in his train. We shall not enter here upon a critical analysis of those famous passages, to inquire whether they imply anything beyond the reach of rational deduction or poetic fancy. We will not affirm that the language of the Mantuan bard, so strikingly resemblant to some of the imagery of Isaiah, had no other reference than to Augustus Cæsar—in whose age he lived, designed to flatter this imperial patron, by assigning him a mystic birth, a blessed reign, when the lion and lamb should lie down together, to be followed by a brilliant apotheosis. We will suppose that the language is incapable of any such interpretation, and that it means just what some have claimed it to mean, for the very purpose of discrediting the positive predictions of Revelation, by including all in

one common category. *When* did the heathen writers, now referred to, live? After—one of them centuries after the last of the Hebrew prophets. The Old Testament Scriptures were nearly complete before Plato was born, more than three hundred years before Virgil saw the light. The Grecian philosopher was a traveller in the East; he was resident for a considerable time in Egypt. Would it be strange to suppose that in this region he acquired some knowledge of the Hebrew prophets, the more remarkable of whom lived centuries before him? He was a student in search of truth, and was it extraordinary that he should encounter some of those heaven-born ideas from the pen of Isaiah and Hosea, which his magnanimous faculties were so well adapted to retain? Would not this rather be the incredible thing, that he, setting forth to explore and discover truth, should have visited those places where this extraordinary literature of the Jews was known to be, and never catch a thought from its glorious treasures? The Hebrew prophets were all translated into Greek, at the court of the Ptolemies, in Egypt, two hundred and seventy years before the birth of Christ. Virgil died at Rome where the Greek language had then been adopted at court, only nineteen years before the advent of our Lord. So that to our certain knowledge, the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures was translated into a language at that time the polite language of the civilized world, a language introduced at the Roman court, thus not only making the imagery of Isaiah accessible to him who aspired to strike a loftier strain than pastoral life, but making it next to impossible to believe that some knowledge of such wonderful poetry and prophecy as that which burned on David's harp and Isaiah's lips, should not have travelled outside of Hebrew channels into the reading and thinking of other nations. Before the Hebrew prophets, can we find any pagan predictions which are noticeable? We know of none. We have heard of none. The alleged passages all belong to a period subsequent to the very last of the Hebrew Scriptures. Would it be strange that here and there a seed of truth should be borne on the wind over the barriers of Hebrew exclusion—out of the affluent harvests

of Hebrew fields? The down of the thistle is wafted over all natural and artificial boundaries. The pollen of plants recognises no limits of personal proprietorship. Seeds are often transported in the crop of birds. Could we expect that ideas—which are like the rays of the sun for brightness, those ideas which had God for their author, and which He had wrought into a religious system which was hoary with age when Greek and Latin Philosophy were young, now that the people who were their appointed depositaries were themselves dispersed all over the world—could we expect that such ideas should begin their march, and the best minds of the surrounding nations never catch one gleam of their brightness? If there be any occasion for surprise, it is in view of the fact that these resemblant passages—which on any construction are mere parodies of Hebrew prophecies—are so few and unfrequent. The position in point of time of such as do exist, furnishes the best solution of their origin.

But the most important aspect of our subject is yet to be mentioned. Presenting the argument for *congruity* in proof of the Christian revelation, we see not how it could be omitted. We claim that the only positive revelation which God has given to the world, was along the line of Hebrew history. We believe that this history was itself a revelation. Its polity and worship were designed to represent certain ideas which afterwards were expressed in ordinary forms of language. The Old Testament contains the history of only one people; introducing other nations only when their history touches the history of the chosen seed. As the arrowy Rhone runs swift and distinct through the very heart of the Genevan lake, refusing to mingle with its waters, so the history of God's peculiar people, descending through the life of the broad world, maintains its own independence of other nations, till, having subserved its end, it dissolves and mingles with the common life of our race. Meantime, other nations were not without their religions. These religions are commonly disposed of in a very summary method. They are included in one category of falsehood and imposture. False and corrupt they were. We cannot exaggerate their falsity and folly; never-

theless, here and there you will find in them an element of truth. The mythologies of the heathen deserve the profound study of the Christian theologian. They are not the mere entertainment of our boyhood; they proffer their own unconscious and unintended testimony in honor of the only true religion. In connexion with those fables and religious rites, which strike us now as puerile in conceit, contemptible for meanness, and corrupt in effect, there may be found here and there gleams and glimmerings of truth, which go to show how much the whole world needed just such a Redeemer as was promised in Hebrew prophecy, and revealed in Christian history. As the Israelites, in going out of Egypt, took along with them the gold and the silver of their oppressors, the very material which afterwards was wrought into the structure of the ark and its furniture in the wilderness, so it would seem that there is a use which we may make of all the dreams of heathen mythology to confirm our faith in the one Revelation which came down out of heaven from God. The wise men of the earth, who, following the guiding star to the manger of Bethlehem, bringing their gold and frankincense in worship of the child that was cradled there, came themselves out of the heart of idolatrous heathendom. They were not of the Hebrew stock; they came from Persia and Chaldea, where sun, and moon, and stars were worshipped. This early act seems to imply that among the nations that walked in darkness, there were dreams and yearnings which instead of disproving the divinity of Revelation, establish it greatly, by showing that in Jesus Christ they find a waking reality, an actual fulfilment. There is a sense in which Christ is the "*desire of all nations.*" Promised in definite terms to one people—all people gave signs of their need of Him with blind gropings after light and help. The ritual of the Jewish worship, the promises of Jewish prophecy point straight and steady to one who should come in his greatness. In heathen mythology the lines are confused and wavering; they are blurred by much which is false and contemptible; but still, there is an unconscious testimony which they yield in homage to Him, who at once interprets and supplies the wants of the

world. That about the time wherein we claim Jesus Christ was born, there prevailed throughout the Eastern world a general expectation that some remarkable person was soon to appear, is substantiated by all historic testimony. Two Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius, inform us that over the whole earth there was a fixed and general expectation, that out of Judea there should come a person who would obtain dominion over the world. As this expectation can be traced so directly to the Hebrew Scriptures and their Septuagint version in Greek, it is needless to dwell upon it. Our eye just now is upon a different object. We take the very mythologies and false religions of the world. We look beyond the *incidents* of those fables which furnished amusement for our younger years. We press into their secret meaning, their origin, and their end. We see that they were dreams, and fables, and falsities. Scepticism, prating volubly and flipantly about so many false religions, would have us believe, that every religion, including our own, is false also. Haste not to those inferences. Counterfeit currency, what does it prove, but that there is a coin which is genuine? The spurious proves the true; the shadow testifies to the substance. The dream points to the fact. Heathenism prophesies of Christianity. Casting aside all that was purely fanciful and absurd—looking only at that which gave vitality and continuance to the mythologies preserved to us in those two languages, which, by the side of the Hebrew, inscribed the name of Christ upon the cross, we find abundance of materials in their refracted lines and uncertain feelings after they knew not what, to confirm our faith in the great Hope and Desire of nations, the promise of whom takes a definite shape in the Hebrew Scriptures alone. From their high watch-towers on the mountains of Israel, the prophets of God utter their intense longings in definite phrase—"Oh, that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!"—and all over the heathen world that voice is echoed by the inarticulate moans and sighings of nations waiting to be renewed—moans like those of a sick child, conscious of suffering, but knowing nothing of a physician and a balm. Traditions of a happy condition that

was lost—memories of a golden age that had fled—conflicts with stern and dreadful forms of evil—sacrifices of all kinds on heathen altars—dreams of Elysian fields—descents into infernal regions—incarnations of the divine in human form—poetic fancies of halcyon days, when stormy surges should subside, and rock themselves into a perpetual calm;—all these enter into the substance of ancient mythologies; and well have they been designated as the “unconscious prophecies of heathendom”^{*}—dim shadows—restless and broken dreams, but they find a meaning, a place, and an interpretation in the advent of Him who is the Desire of all nations. When the adversaries of the Christian faith assert certain properties of false religion for the purpose of lowering our estimate of what we deem a revelation, we are by no means content with merely parrying the assault; we intend that those weapons of attack shall be turned about, and made to work for the pulling down of those strongholds from which they issued. We hold it to be a signal fact in regard to Christ and His religion, that both are so congruous, not only to the positive promises made by the Almighty to one people, but congruous as well to all the deep yearnings—the dim anticipations—the uncertain divinations—prophecies, in strict speech, we cannot call them—yet gropings, forecastings, imaginings, which betokened the mighty necessities of the world at large. Men did feel the woes and agonies of conscious guilt. Men did rear their heathen altars, and furnish work for their heathen priesthood. Men did feel their need of some one to deliver from death, and solve the mystery of another world. Men were disposed to worship and deify the heroes who promised them help. Ever inclined were they to believe in the gods coming down in the likeness of men. They would have their dreams concerning a life of the blessed. Hercules, ere his labors were finished, must descend to the gates of hell and bring away the monster who guarded those dreaded portals. Apollo, whose matchless beauty and distended nostrils, as immortalised by breathing marble, were

* Trench.

intended to represent the divine dwelling in a human form, must wage war, with his unerring bow, against the dragon who had devastated the world. The very forms which sculpture has raised, to dishonor revelation, ere they pass from our view, make obeisance to the Son of God. Let the falsehoods, and corruptions, and superstitions of heathenism stand in proof of human apostasy; but wherever there is a heaving of the mass—a groaning out of the world's great heart—a looking-up and longing for help—a fancy even which pictures deliverance from dreaded evil—an imaginary hero grappling with death—some mighty one assaulting the grim portals of hell, himself invulnerable, with mystic branch or fabled waters;—wherever there was a Pagan priest who promised to propitiate offended divinities by holocausts of animals or blood of human victims, there—there was an incidental and unintentional, yet for all that none the less potent testimony in favor of that one true religion, which explains what men have been dreaming about for many ages, which harmonizes all the scattered and disjointed facts of human history—which by its great light, brings out those mysterious characters which, written as it were in invisible ink, can be decyphered only a letter and a syllable here and there, till confronted by the sun, the words are all plain; a Revelation which acquaints us with one travelling in the greatness of His strength—surpassing every hero of mythology, and actually achieving more than herculean labors in beheading and burning the hydra Sin, in abolishing death, vanquishing the grave, bringing life and immortality to light. We have not followed cunningly devised fables; but the dreamy fables—the mystic fancies, the mere ghosts and shadows of truth—all shall serve to fortify our belief in Him who puts in the empty and groping hand of man a substantial reality, who calls to his side all the divine ideas which had been wandering up and down in the world, till they had forgotten themselves and their origin; giving them form and fixture in His own life; who is the “Desire of all nations, the fulfiller of the world's hopes, the stiller of creation's groans, the great birth of time, into which all the unspeakable throes of a suffering humanity had been tending from

the first.”* If in all the generations of men, in all the ages of time, there can be discovered any resemblances to truth—any seeming approximations thereto, if in the absence of revelation there be any thoughts, ideas, principles, which our Christian judgment must pronounce to be truthful, scattered here and there, like particles of gold in dirt and rubbish, be confident then of this, that their proper place and bearing will be found, when He who is promised, “by the sure word of prophecy,” has come to interpret all things, adjust all things, achieve all things, fulfil all things, as the Desire, the Light, the Life, the King, the Prince, the Redeemer of the world.

He has been promised of God for ages. All the worthies of the ancient Scriptures pointed to him. Forward, down the centuries of time, point the seers of Israel; like sentinels in the great battles and revolutions of history, their voices have rung out clear and strong, Behold he cometh! Dense and deep is the darkness of the world, but there is one light which shineth bright and steady through the gloom, and it leadeth onwards. Through the midnight, spread upon the mountains, the word is heard, “Watchman, what of the night?” and the response comes back, “The morning cometh.” There is a kindling of grey streaking the east; when wars, and calamities, and jostlings of the nations abound the most, as if the Almighty was shaking the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, a voice is heard above the tramp of armies, “I will shake all nations, saith the Lord, and the Desire of all nations shall come.” The isles wait for Him, the heathen need Him, the world must know its God.

They who have seen the great light, must follow it; it will lead them to Christ; those who have been dreaming must wake and find that there is one living reality congruous to every desire, every want, every fear of their aching hearts.

As the curtain rises on the manger of Bethlehem, and we bend with the wise men, and the humble, before him with the mystic name—Immanuel—*God with us*—this is to us the highest evidence of the truth, that we find it adapted,

* Hulseian Lectures.

and this alone to all that we have felt, and craved and yearned to know; revealing one who dispels fear, forgives sin, inspires hope, delivers from death, and opens wide the gates of a real and eternal heaven.

ART. X.—SCHAFF'S CHURCH HISTORY.

History of the Christian Church. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., author of the *History of the Apostolic Church. From the Birth of Christ to the Reign of Constantine, A.D. 1-311.* New York: Charles Scribner. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1859. 8vo., pp. 535.

It was our purpose to bestow upon this new work from the pen of Dr. Schaff, a somewhat extended notice. The work deserves such notice on several accounts. To say nothing of its intrinsic merits, it has an interest for American theologians as a pioneer in the department to which it belongs. In secular history, our country has done its part nobly; we have a right to be proud of such names as Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Hildreth, and Palfrey. But two of these writers went abroad for their subjects. While church history is but just beginning to be cultivated amongst us by a proper method, with a proper zeal. And now it looks to us like one of those providential compensations, not unfrequently occurring, that the foreign invasions, so creditably accomplished by Prescott and Motley amongst the Spaniards and the Dutch, should have been balanced so promptly by this Teutonic leadership in the department of Church history; a department whose special claims upon us, in our peculiar relations as a people to the future of Christendom, are equalled only by our neglect of these claims hitherto.

For ourselves, we are free to say, that our national pride, intense as it is, takes no offence at this foreign leadership, if foreign it may be called. Foreign, however, it cannot quite justly be called. Dr. Schaff came over here fifteen years

ago, when as yet his beard was hardly grown, and without parting with anything which it was well for him to keep of his original tastes and traits, has become as heartily and thoroughly American as any scholar from beyond the sea, who has ever struck root into our soil. His coming here, as he frankly confessed in his *Mercersburg Inaugural*, seemed to him then to be, as in many respects it was, a sacrifice. In 1841 he had published a treatise on "The Sin against the Holy Ghost,"* which was well received; he was fairly established in Berlin on terms of affectionate intimacy with the leading evangelical theologians there, and his career was opening as auspiciously as either he or his friends could ask. It was purely a sense of duty which moved him to turn his back upon the libraries and learned men of Germany, and become an exile, for Christ's sake, amongst the ferments and crudities of our young American life. But that sacrifice has been the making of him. Books he could bring with him, or summon after him. What he needed was the peculiar atmosphere of this new world, without which he could not have become the writer of church history that he now is. We have certainly some good reasons for doubting whether the history of the Church as a whole, even of the first three centuries, but particularly of the period since the Reformation, can be written properly by Europeans in Europe, as Europe now is; can be written properly even by Germans in Germany, signal as may be their advantages in some respects over most other Europeans. It is only in this new world that the Reformation has wrought itself out unhindered; not perfectly even here as yet, but vastly more so than anywhere else. Furthermore, our continent is confessed to be the continent of the future, holding the key of the great problems of the future, so that no man not at home here, and not in sympathy with our peculiar institutions and spirit, is, or can be, entirely competent to expound to our best edification the lessons of the Christian past. How, for example, can an Anglican churchman possibly be just, in every re-

* Die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist, und die daraus gezogenen dogmatischen und ethischen Folgerungen. Halle. 1841. pp. 210.

spect, to Wycliffe, whose unfaltering logic took him along so much further than England herself has yet gone, so much further than any nation except our own has yet gone? If, as indicated by the success of our leading historians in the civil sphere, republicanism be the best stand-point for the writing of secular history, the peculiar freedom of our ecclesiastical life, in its complete disseverance from the State, must certainly furnish the best stand-point for the writing of church history. And then our religious life is distinguished by at least one feature, to be found in equal perfection nowhere else; we allude to the revivals which have been so peculiarly American, but which are destined to open up a new experience to the whole of Christendom. How easy it is for Europeans to misjudge us in this matter, may be seen in what Gieseler has said of us. *

But even the first three centuries, including the church of the Apostles, require, as we think, the sort of handling which they are most likely to get from a learned, pious, and evangelical American. Dr. Schaff, it is true, is not a native American, else he might have been less learned than he is. But what is best in our national life has gone into the very marrow of his being. He entertains no longer any sense of banishment. Even the physiologists must admit that he has been twice made over within the twice seven years which he has spent amongst us; while no one who has ever met him can need to be told how ardently, and how entirely he has identified himself with all that is at the same time distinctively American and truly Christian. His earlier writings were familiar to us, and had won our respect, long before we had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance. This recent volume now brings before us the image of a much loved friend. And very sorry are we that our engagements are such that the interview must needs be brief.

This work, like its predecessor, the "History of the Apostolic Church," published in 1853, was written by Dr. Schaff in his native German, and translated into English by the Rev.

* See the fifth and last volume of his *Kirchengeschichte*, published posthumously by Redepenning. 1855. pp. 370-98.

Edward D. Yeomans, who has done his part remarkably well. Besides being very faithful to the original, as the author assures us it is, it has a fluidity and freshness of style and diction not easily imparted to a mere translation. Mr. Yeomans gives us vivacious, and for the most part, very good English. Such blemishes as "*terribly insipid*," p. 22, are rare.

As to the plan of the work, it embraces: first, a General Introduction, discussing the usual topics—such as the nature, sources, uses, and literature of church history, occupying 25 pages; then follow 115 pages devoted to the Life of Christ and the Apostolic period to the death of John; and, finally, we have, in 388 pages, the General History of the Church from the death of John to the time of Constantine. Only this third and last portion of the matter is wholly new; the two preceding portions, with the exception of the slight sketch of the Life of Christ, covering but 5 pages, being only a compressed reproduction, from substantially the same materials, of what had previously appeared, in much larger compass, in the author's "*History of the Apostolic Church*." This arrangement, so far at least as the earlier portions are concerned, imparts to the work a popular aspect, which at once invites, and will doubtless promote, amongst intelligent laymen, a better acquaintance with the history of the Christian Church. For such a use there is enough of minuteness and fullness; though not enough for the purposes of our theological students and clergymen, who must still betake themselves to the larger works of Schaff, Neander, Thiersch, Lange, and others. It has seemed to us, however, that more of material might, by a rigorous condensation, have been put into these introductory portions of the volume, and more of the apparatus of study might have been indicated in foot-notes, without detriment to the prevailing character of the work. For example, in enumerating the church historians, no mention is made of Philostorgius, though the other six Greeks are named; of the Latins, only Cassiodorus is mentioned, and of the French, Dupin is wholly ignored as well in this as in the larger work.

The fundamental conception of Church History, with Dr.

Schaff, as with all other writers of eminence in this department, is that of development. This word is a new one, and therefore regarded with not a little distrust by many good people. But the idea is as old as the parables of the mustard-seed and leaven, crops out in the writings of some of the best of the early Fathers, and, in spite of its perversion and abuse by modern pantheists, must eventually be ranked amongst the common-places of our historic teaching. In regard to what Dr. Schaff means by development, no intelligent reader can be in doubt for a moment. The Christianity of Christ, His inspired Apostles, and the New Testament, is, in his judgment, absolutely perfect. Development has regard only to the realization of the Divine ideal in the actual life of the Christian church. This realization of the Divine ideal has been incontestably a gradual process. The centuries that lie between the death of John and the accession of Constantine, have no such supereminent and normal authority as some men would have us believe. They are only parts of one great Christian whole; and the whole is more and better than any of its parts. Each age, and each important nationality, has had its own special errand to accomplish; and only in the end of the ages and the nationalities, will the mind of Christ be fully revealed. Meanwhile, each Christian century has something to learn of every other, since the same Divine presence has more or less brightly illumined all. And yet there can be no dictation between the centuries; the best and the worst are to be measured alike by the Scriptures. Thus defined and guarded, the idea of development, so far from being dangerous, is simply indispensable to a just and edifying treatment of Christian history. Under the guidance of this idea, wisely handled, edification is certainly attainable. Abuses, corruptions and heresies sink to their proper level, and dwindle to their just proportions, while the general life of the Church, so feebly expressed in such writers as Semler, Henke, and Mosheim even, swells and flows in full tide through the glowing narrative.

A certain kind of latitudinarianism is obviously the peril incident to this mode of treating history. One is in danger

of becoming over-catholic and tolerant. Dr. Schaff has not escaped reproach in this regard. His catholicism has been complained of as a little too Roman; and certain not sufficiently guarded expressions in his earlier writings have lent some force to the complaint. But he is far enough from being a Romanist, and the more he writes, the more palpable does he make this appear. One may certainly think Hildebrand a reformer of abuses, and applaud the mediæval papacy for not succumbing to the secular power, without admiring the Council of Trent, or having any sympathy with modern Romanism.

One great charm of Dr. Schaff's book is the pulse of fervent, earnest, unaffected piety which everywhere beats through it. Though warm and glowing, it is not at all mystical or sentimental, but robust and practical. He recognises the importance of certain means of grace not sufficiently honored by Germans in general. Of the Sabbath he says, p. 128: "As regards the observance of a particular day of the week, the special divine injunction of a weekly Sabbath, which stands in the Decalogue and is rooted even in the creation, is, in its essence, more than a merely national, temporary and ceremonial law." And again he says: "The due observance of it, in which the reformed churches of England, Scotland and America, to their incalculable advantage, excel the churches of the European Continent, is a real means of discipline and of grace for the people, a safeguard of public morality and religion, a bulwark against infidelity, and a source of immeasurable blessings to the church, the state and the family."

Another charm of the work is its glowing style. The Swiss air, which the author inhaled in his early life, has not been lost upon him. Eloquence is natural to him. And he finds encouragement to it, and a market for it, in the land of his adoption. The audience for which he writes evidently includes the masses. This is well; it redeems history from the reproach of dryness. But there is danger of excess in this direction, rhetorical amplification sometimes taking the place of a detailed, lawyer-like, and careful array of facts.

There are portions of this brilliant and stirring book into which more material, of which the author certainly had an abundance at his command, might have been pressed without the risk of dullness. Rhetorical exaggeration may not often occur, but there is at least one instance of it on p. 58, where we are told, that "*millions* of the most enlightened, the noblest and the best of men, have freely died, and millions are now ready to die for the name of Jesus, while hardly one would lay down his life for Alexander, or Cæsar, or Napoleon, for Socrates or Plato." This is swelling "the noble army of martyrs" to a magnitude which Fox himself would have been frightened at.

The learning displayed is various and ample. Dr. Schaff shows himself familiar with the entire literature of his subject. Nothing of any moment, which has proceeded from the prolific pens of his countrymen, appears to have escaped his notice. Nor has he merely devoured, he has digested, the learning of these many writers. He makes no pretension to an exclusive or even primary dependence upon the original sources; though, evidently, whenever he deems it necessary, the original sources become his final dependence, all secondary authorities serving merely as guides and not as substitutes. An independent, searching and exhaustive use of these common fountains, from an American stand-point, is a task greatly needing to be accomplished. Nor would the task be quite as herculean as some may think. The ante-Nicene Fathers might all be put into about a dozen good thick folios. Neander, it is said, had read them all, every page of them.

One of the most valuable chapters in the book is the concluding one, which is devoted to the church Fathers and their writings, and occupies about seventy-five pages. We can recall no other manual of church history, in which this work is done so fully and so well. In Prof. Shedd's translation of Guericke, only twenty-seven pages are given to this subject. The bulk of our students and clergymen who cannot have access to "*Möhler's Patrologie*," will be grateful for the service thus rendered them. The remarks on the

"Ignatian controversy," which occur in this chapter, pp. 469-71, are a good specimen at once of the condensation, and of the critical acumen, of which the author is capable. Another similar example may be found in an earlier chapter, where he discusses the "Origin of the Episcopate," pp. 413-21.

"Gnosticism" occupies about twenty-six pages, and the subject is very well handled, considering the space allowed to it. A valuable feature is the chronological order in which the systems are presented. A new classification is suggested on an ethical basis. Dr. Schaff's limits would not allow him to give the several classifications of Neander, Baur, Ritter and others, but we wish he had made room for Niedner's, which seems to us the most perfect of all. We hope he will do this in a future edition.

There are some opinions scattered here and there throughout this volume, to which exceptions might be made; partly of a doctrinal nature, but mostly merely historical and critical. Dr. Schaff's views of inspiration, for example, p. 84, are hardly up to our American standard of orthodoxy. There are also indications of Sacramentarian and other high-church principles, which will be somewhat offensive even to Calvinists amongst us, and much more to Zuinglians, of whom we have so many. But these points have no such prominence, and, above all, no such shaping influence upon the general character of the work, as to provoke the exclusion of it from those circles in which it seeks to move. We allude to them, not now for the purpose of controversy, still less of denunciation, but only to save ourselves from the suspicion of having endorsed every single principle and opinion of a writer, whose work as a whole we so fervently admire.

The best way of testing a manual like this, is by daily reference to it in a course of historical study and teaching. This we have not been able to do, our copy having been unduly detained in the hands of the binder. In running our eyes over the volume somewhat hastily, as we have been obliged to do, several points have arrested our attention, which, perhaps, may be open to remark. As, for example, on p. 58, where the famous passage from Josephus in regard

to Christ appears to us to be endorsed somewhat too confidently. The spurious parts of that passage, in Gieseler's opinion, are quite obvious. On the 59th page, Pentecost is spoken of as "the feast of the first fruits, and *of the giving of the law on Sinai*;" whereas this latter significance of the feast appears to have been known only to the later Jews, no trace of it appearing in the Old Testament, or in the works of Philo or Josephus.* The "speaking with tongues" on the day of Pentecost, appears to Dr. Schaff to have been only an extatic utterance. Others have thought that the power of using other languages than their vernacular, was then bestowed outright, for once and for all, upon the Apostles. Olshausen propounds a middle opinion, according to which extatic utterance may have been the gift spoken of in some other passages, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 7-9, while, on the day of Pentecost, the gift, as Luke certainly appears to teach, was the specific one of speaking in other languages. The later date of John's banishment to Patmos, (95 A.D.) may be the right one, but the other opinion, not alluded to by Dr. Schaff, is recommended by high critical authority. The Apostolicity of Infant Baptism, we are glad to see, is contended for more earnestly than has been the fashion of late in Germany; but as to the mode of baptism in the Apostolic age, we would rather not see immersion so easily conceded.

Here, though most reluctantly, we pause. We would gladly dwell longer upon this valuable contribution to the theological literature of our country; but our leisure is exhausted, and we must stop.

ART. XI.—THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

OUR Review has been greeted with an unusual amount of criticism in several of the religious newspapers. For our first acquaintance with some of our alleged motives and objects,

* Hackett's Acts, ii. 1.

we are indebted to these journals. But we prefer to be judged in the light of the good old maxim, that the tree is known by its fruits.

Nobody, we suppose, need misunderstand the chief object we have in view. It is not ecclesiastical, but theological. There has been for a long time a deep and growing conviction, that a quarterly journal was needed to represent what is familiarly known as the old school of the New England theology. This theology is common to New England, and to a large proportion of the Presbyterian Church of the country; more than any other, it has given shape to thought, to preaching, and to the Christian life. It has been the theology of a large part of the ministry, and of the prominent laymen of our churches. It is the marrow and the strength of these churches. It was represented by such names as the elder Edwards, Bellamy, Smalley, Hopkins, Burton, and Dwight; among those nearer to our times, it has been ably advocated by Griffin, Woods, Tyler, and Richards. It has been intermediate between the extreme views and tendencies on either hand. It has never, on the one hand, been willing to make the immediate imputation of Adam's sin, nor the absolute inability of the sinner, nor the doctrine of a limited atonement, tests of orthodoxy or of ministerial fellowship. On the other hand, it has resisted the positions, that all that is moral can be resolved into volitions; that moral government has ultimate respect to happiness as the chief and only good; and that natural ability (or, in the later phraseology, power to the contrary) is sufficient of itself, without grace, for the renewal of the soul. It has protested against these and kindred positions, because if taken strictly, and logically carried out, they seem to undermine the whole doctrine of original sin, to take away from the atonement and justification their proper import, and to lead the sinner to rely upon his own acts rather than upon the divine grace. The tendency of these views, too, as sometimes advocated, has been to substitute moral philosophy for theology, and to allow ethical science to shape and control the definitions of the essential articles of the Christian faith. Sin has been resolved into

sins, and regeneration into moral suasion ; the atonement has been defined by its subjective effects, or its relation to happiness and not to holiness ; justification has been made dependent on a foreseen sanctification ; and, in an assumed power to the contrary, is found the great and last point in the vindication of God's ways with man. By a slow but sure process, at first rather felt than clearly seen, the very foundation of the older system of faith has been undermined. For that made God's will, and not man's, supreme ; holiness and not happiness was its last word ; and all moral theories were limited by, and were not allowed to limit, the doctrines of original sin, of atonement, and of justification. In that system, the revelation of God in Christ, and not the revelation in natural conscience and reason, was allowed to speak the last word, and to shape the definitions of doctrine. In the Person and Work of Christ, that theology has its centre ; in the eternal decree of God it has its root and its strength. And there is thus about it an unrivalled sublimity ; it awes as well as attracts the soul. It makes man feel that God is the strength of his heart, and his portion for ever.

This general system of faith, coming down to us through Augustine, Calvin and Edwards, has grown with the growth of our churches, and strengthened with their strength. It has the historical right of possession ; so deeply rooted is it that all the sects and all the heresies have, first of all, to oppose Calvinism. And the most weighty question in connexion with the interests of Christ's church in this country is just this : Whether this system is to abide in its integrity, or to be resolved into some mixed mode ? Is it to compromise, and thus capitulate, or is it still to maintain its high and advanced position ?

It is sometimes assumed, in a very dogmatic way, that the old theology of New England is already decayed and effete, a thing of the past, and past recovery. Some antiquated divines, who speak boldly or cautiously in its favor, are looked upon with respect for their services, and commiseration for their opinions. And all younger persons, who venture to be dissatisfied with the more modern views, are declared to be

at war with the settled theology and terminology of New England. This theology is reduced to a few scant phrases, easily understood, easily learnt, easily repeated. If anybody has ever spoken these phrases, even by accident, now or in the past centuries, he is a sound New England divine. And if anybody cannot find in them his ultimate formulas of thought on the highest questions, he needs, first of all, to be put through an easy course of mental and moral philosophy for the improvement of his understanding. And if he says anything which implies distrust of any of these pet phrases, he is at once read out of the charmed circle of the New England divines. But such claims have neither reason nor history in their favor. They can be maintained only by showing that Edwards on Original Sin, and Hopkins on Divine Sovereignty, and Bellamy and Smalley on Man's Original State and on Regeneration, and Burton, and Griffin, and Woods, and Tyler on all the controverted points, are not properly included in what is called New England divinity. Ever since the time of Hopkins there has been a well defined difference between the old and new school in New England. And the pretence that what is called modern Hopkinsianism is the whole of Hopkinsianism, or even contains its essential features, is at war with the history of theology in our country. The divine decree was the constructive idea of the system of Hopkins; the theory of the human will gives its structure to the modern Hopkinsianism. They are thus radically different. The attempt to resolve the one into the other is as absurd as is the attempt to decry all who do not speak the modern shibboleths as opponents of New England divinity.

The theological interest to which this Review is dedicated, is not restricted by the boundaries of a single denomination. And hence, members of different ecclesiastical bodies are united in the work. Theology overrides the boundaries of the sects. Denominational and theological tendencies cannot be uniformly classed together. A theological tendency strikes its roots deeper and rises higher than does the merely ecclesiastical. Rome identifies faith and the church; with Protestants the form of government is secon-

dary. For a system of faith is the highest expression of the combined thought and piety of any age. It is the very life of a people, its shaping influence giving form and pressure to the times. As is its theology, so will be a people. Positive science, so called, may boast of its fitness to reorganize society; but it is faith which has hitherto done that work. For such a vital and central object, Christians, who are separated by denominational aims, may well forget their lesser differences. And their union in what is of the highest moment may soften their differences in inferior matters. Boston and New York, Congregationalists and Presbyterians may thus work together for one essential end, and, as far as their union is concerned, let other matters take care of themselves. These thus co-operating can and ought still to enlist with earnestness in whatever concerns the proper welfare of the denominations with which they are respectively connected; but their common Review, this Review, cannot be, and will never be, made the instrument of advancing either denomination as such in any of its denominational matters.

Such is a fair and full statement of the primary object of the *American Theological Review*. Our position is not that of opposition to any Review, or party, or persons; but that of the advocacy and defence of our own deeply-grounded convictions. Other religious quarterlies have their particular objects, with which we have no disposition to interfere. But it has seemed to us that such a periodical as ours is also needed, as it has been long demanded. There are many, and an increasing number, who think that they have too long kept silence about their cherished opinions and principles. No harm can result from a frank expression and exposition of their views; and if such a Review is needed, it will make its own way, and secure its own audience; if it is not needed, if any other journal is doing, or can do, the same work, that, too, will appear in good time.

Besides the general object, thus indicated, there are also other points embraced in our plan, on which a few words may be in place.

The history of theological opinions in our own country, and

in the church at large, demands a larger place than it has usually received in our religious quarterlies. Monographs upon the great teachers, and the cardinal doctrines of the church, will give the Review, we trust, a permanent value. The history of the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity, Sin, the Atonement, and Justification; the history of Calvinistic theology in its leading branches, and especially of New England theology, will give the materials for forming a sounder judgment upon modern views. Only in the light of such a history can our present modes of statement be fully understood and fairly criticised. The history of theology in this country has never yet been written; and it is more worthy of a careful study and narration than are many of the subjects which the diligence of German students has so thoroughly explored. Some of the materials, at least, for such a history will be collected in our pages.

While this Review is particularly devoted to Theology, yet Literature, Philosophy and Science will also be discussed in their relations to Christianity. It is an undeniable fact, that much of the modern literature rests upon an anti-Christian view of human society and the destiny of mankind. It is impregnated with a merely humanitarian, when not with a pantheistic bias. In the popular lecture the orthodox faith is often openly contemned; and those who thus stigmatize the cherished convictions of a large part of the community, demand the fullest licence for their own speculations; they even profess indignation when their assaults are assailed. It may well be doubted, whether there is not a more intense intolerance lurking in the heart of much of the modern humanitarianism than was ever shown by the strictest orthodoxy. But those who hold to the Christian faith have, at least, as good a right to the utmost freedom of speech, as have their opponents; and this freedom must be exercised more definitely and deliberately, unless we mean to surrender literature and literary criticism into the hands of the enemies of our faith. The necessity of doing this becomes still more urgent from the fact, that some who profess to be orthodox, never speak of their stricter orthodox brethren except to disparage them, and

seldom speak of some, who are avowedly infidels, except to praise their humanity and culture.

And in the sphere of philosophy, as well as of literature, there is an increasing demand for a thorough and careful discussion of the questions which lie at the root of the great conflict between reason and faith. That conflict may continue, it may be that it will not cease, until faith is lost in sight; but it is no less our duty to strive ever for its adjustment. The whole argument for infidelity centres here. If we leave all philosophy to the opponents of Christianity, we virtually concede that Christianity cannot be vindicated before the cultivated intellect of the age. We must enter into their theories and arguments, so far at least as to show that at their highest venture they come to only negative results; and that a mere negation is of no force against the positive and independent evidences for Christian truth. As related to Christianity, all that has been attained by the modern pantheistic speculation is just to clear away the ground, and leave an open space for the positive truth and facts of revelation. Schelling in Germany, and Sir William Hamilton in Scotland, both concur in this estimate. As far as the great questions of men's destiny are concerned, all that mere speculation can do is to state and sharpen the problems; but the solution of the problems can come only from a higher source. Here, now, are questions demanding the earnest attention of all thoughtful minds. And such attention is solicited by works like those just published of Hickok, Hamilton, Mansel on the Limitations of Religious Thought, and Schelling's Philosophy of Revelation.

We can only advert to another object, which we have in view, and that is, to furnish in each number a concise summary of the current history and statistics of the different branches of the church, and of missionary progress. In the course of time, this Review may thus become a repository of facts, which can now be gathered only from widely dispersed sources.

Among the notices of our Review that contained in the March number of the *Christian Examiner*, is so frank and

manly that we cannot refrain from a reciprocation of its courtesy. It says, "We may have to meet it now and then in the quality of antagonists; but we trust that always, as now, it may be with nothing to impair the comity there should be among Christian thinkers and sincere searchers after truth." To this we cordially respond. The questions we must discuss are so serious and so elevated, that a breach of personal courtesy, or the ascription of unworthy motives, would prevent the very object to be gained by a discussion. "Doubtless the advocates of a strict, well-marked creed have an enormous advantage over those whose intellect and conscience alike compel to harmonize their faith with a different style of culture, and (shall we say?) a mere philosophic view of human history." But, is it true, at the present day, that the advocates of a well-marked creed are less interested than others in its relation to culture and to the philosophy of history? Taking the intellect of England and America as a whole, will it not be found that philosophical problems are as earnestly discussed by them, and that the weight of these problems is as deeply felt by them, as by the advocates of a more liberal system of faith? Our creed, too, seems to the *Christian Examiner* "immeasurably narrow as a gauge of the eternal counsel of the Most High." But our creed does not propose to "gauge" that counsel; enough for us that we rest in it. This is Calvinism; and the *Examiner* in conceding "the eternal counsel of the Most High," and implying that we cannot gauge it, concedes the very essence of our "strict and well-marked creed."

News of the Churches and of Missions.

THE *Statistical Bureau* of Berlin publishes the following estimates of the population of the earth, and its religious divisions. The total population 1,288,000,000: viz Europe 272,000,000; Asia 755,000,000; Africa 200,000,000; America 59,000,000; Australia 2,000,000. The whole number of Christians is reckoned at 335,000,000; viz 170,000,000 Roman Catholic; 89,000,000 Protestants; 76,000,000 Greek and Oriental. The Jews number about 5,000,000; of whom 2,890,750 are in Europe. The Asiatic religions are computed to have 600,000,000 adherents; the Mohammedans 160,000,000; all others 200,000,000. With this may be compared the computation for 1851, which gave 1,080,000,000 as the total population; in Europe 260,000,000; Asia 610,000,000; Africa 108,000,000; America 50,000,000; Australia 2,000,000. The Roman Catholics were then estimated at 145,000,000 (undoubtedly wrong); the Protestants 80,000,000; the Greek Church 70,000,000; the Jews 8,000,000; the Mohammedans 111,000,000; the Asiatic religions 550,000,000. The estimates in the present report are more nearly correct.

The United States.—*The Chaplaincies in the Army and Navy.*—Recent accounts show a great disproportion in the distribution of the chaplaincies among the different denominations. The *National Recorder* gives the following statistics. In the navy, of 24 chaplains, 10 are Protestant Episcopal, 5 are Presbyterian, 4 Congregationalist, 4 Method-

ist, 1 Baptist. In the army, of 23 chaplains, 18 are Episcopal, 2 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Baptist, 1 Roman Catholic. That is, there are 38 Episcopal to 19 others; just twice as many. The amount of this disproportion may be seen in the light of the facts that the Episcopal Church numbers 2,018 clergy, the Presbyterians 5,428, the Regular Baptists 7,141, the Congregationalists 2,313, the Methodists about 10,000, to say nothing of the other denominations.

The Revision of the Presbyterian Book of Discipline.—The *Princeton Review* says that "every one feels that our judicial system is the weak point in our form of government;" that the "General Assembly is inherently unfit for judicial business;" and that "any sensible man would rather be tried by twelve men than by two hundred." The present Book of Discipline was formed in 1788, and revised in 1821. The liberal changes made in it by the New School, at the time of their separation, led, by reaction, to an indisposition to make any changes. But the Old School, in 1857, appointed a large Committee, consisting of Drs. Thornwell, Hodge, Hoge, and other ministers, and Judges Sharswood, Allen, and Leavitt. Their Report is published, and now under discussion. The whole Book has been condensed; the definitions made more exact and the rules more definite; the old processes simplified and new procedures introduced. Among the changes here recommended are the following: Nothing is to be considered as an of-

fence, which is not contrary to the Word of God, as expounded in the Presbyterian standards.—Baptized persons, who have not made a profession of religion, are not to be subject to judicial prosecution.—The parties in a process are to remain the same in all its appellate stages; at present the parties are changed before each Court, to the confusion of the whole case.—The right of voting is not to be taken from the lower judicatures, who have already tried the case.—When the accused party refuses to appear, the trial is to proceed as if he were present.—Cases are enumerated in which the necessity of a trial is precluded.—The number of excluded witnesses is abridged; the parties themselves are to be admitted as witnesses.—In the case of an appeal, all proceedings under the decision are arrested until the final judgment is given.—Judge Sharswood also proposed that the decision of the Lower Court should be final as to the facts of the case, like the verdict of a jury; and that the appeal should be simply on the questions of law and regularity. There are many who advocate the Scotch system, of trying judicial cases by a Commission. The practice of calling upon each member of the Assembly to express his opinions leads to endless repetitions and unnecessary delay. Whether the General Assembly (O. S.) will adopt or recommit the Report is perhaps doubtful; but the whole subject is one of so much importance, and is now so earnestly debated, that a revision on many of these points must soon be secured.

The Church of the Puritans.—An *ex parte* council met in the City of New York, Feb. 15th, at the call of twenty-two members of the Church of the Puritans; that church having refused to unite in a mutual council. The case has been under discussion for more than a year, growing in part out of dissatis-

faction with the pastor of the church, Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., for his reiterated attacks, in the pulpit, upon the system of slavery. More than a year since, letters of dismissal were given, at their request, to forty-six members of the church. The letters received by the most prominent laymen, however, implied a censure upon them, the customary form of commendation being omitted. These letters having been returned to the church, it adopted a resolution declaring that these persons were no "longer members of the church, or in any way subject to its watch and care." The *ex parte* council found that this resolution was altogether in violation of Congregational usages, and that the implied censure was without warrant. It also declared that these persons were "members of the Church of the Puritans in good and regular standing;" and that the course of the said church was "a lamentable departure from those principles of justice, which are the security of ecclesiastical not less than of civil rights." Rev. W. T. Dwight, D.D., of Portland, Me., was the moderator of the council. Prof. Noah Porter, D.D., of New Haven, ably presented the case in behalf of the aggrieved brethren.

Statistics of the Churches in the United States.—These statistics are taken from the most recent reports in the Almanacs and Year Books. Only a part of them can now be given: the rest will appear in future numbers of the Review.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.—The American Congregational Year Book, 1859, vol. 6; and the Congregational Quarterly differ somewhat in the total estimates. The former gives 2,524 churches, 2,318 ministers, 238,624 members; the latter, 2,369 churches, 2,408 ministers, 230,094 members. In the

state of New York, there are 238 Congregational churches which are independent of the Association, or connected with presbyteries. The Year Book estimates 2,852 churches with a membership of over 250,000, as the probable number "coming within the embrace of the American Congregational Union." In New England and New York the churches and ministers are given in the Cong. Quarterly thus:—Maine, 242 churches, 201 ministers; New Hampshire, 184 churches, 181 ministers; Vermont, 190 churches, 195 ministers; Massachusetts, 482 churches, 586 ministers; Rhode Island, 22 churches, 20 ministers; Connecticut, 282 churches, 381 ministers; New York, 178 churches, 185 ministers; Ohio has 114 churches and 119 ministers; Illinois, 159 and 152; Michigan, 115 and 190; Wisconsin, 132 and 132; Iowa, 120 and 105, etc. To all these churches, 21,582 were added the past year; a gain, deducting removals by death and otherwise, of 9,762.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.—The Presbyterian Historical Almanac makes the number of ministers in the different branches of the Presbyterian church to be 5,428 with 507,174 members; but this last number does not include the Associate Reformed, South, nor the Free Presbyterian Church, nor either of the Synods of the Ref. Presb. Church. The General Synod of the latter, which met at Eden, Illinois, reported about 8000 members. The *Presbyterian Church* (O.S.), reported in 1858, 33 synods, 159 presbyteries, 2,468 ministers, 3,357 churches, 259,335 communicants. The *Presbyterian Church* (N.S.), 26 synods, 120 presbyteries, 1,612 ministers, 1,687 churches, 143,510 communicants: but this includes the churches in the southern and south-western states, which have virtually seceded from the Assembly. The *United Synod*, formed by a part of these reports, 113 ministers and 10,620

communicants. The *Associate Presbyterian* and *Associate Reformed* churches were united in 1858, and number 49 presbyteries, 429 ministers, 586 churches, 55,623 communicants. The *Cumberland Presbyterian*, 1858, report 89 presbyteries, 588 ministers, 48,601 members. The *Associate Ref. Church*, South, has 68 ministers; the *Free Presb. Church*, 43.

THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.—The *Regular Baptists* in the United States are comprised in 565 associations, 11,600 churches, with 7,141 ministers, 923,198 members, of whom 63,506 were immersed in 1857. The *Anti-Mission Baptists* report 1720 churches, 825 ministers, 58,000 members. The *Free-Will Baptists*, 1,170 churches, 945 ministers, 50,312 members. The *Campbellites*, or *Disciples of Christ* report, in round numbers, 2,000 churches, 2000 ministers, 350,000 members. The *Six Principle Baptists* have about 3000 members; the *German Baptists*, or *Tunkers*, 8,200; the *Mennonites*, 36,280; the *Church of God*, 13,800; the *Seventh Day Baptists*, 7,250.

THE METHODIST CHURCHES.—The *Methodist Episcopal Church*, North and South, has about 10,000 ministers, and as many churches, with 1,662,332 members. The Northern Church reports 17 colleges, 65 seminaries, 6,512 preachers, 7,530 local preachers, 9,063 churches, 768,000 church members, 188,555 probationers. The Southern Church, 3,434 travelling and 4,907 local preachers, with 655,000 members, of whom 200,000 are colored. The *Zion Wesleyan Methodists* have 5,000 members; the *Methodist Protestants*, 70,000; the *True Wesleyan Methodists*, 40,000; the *German Methodists*, 19,980.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—31 dioceses, 39 bishops, 1,979 priests and

deacons, 127,933 communicants, 1,995 parishes, 32,286 baptisms, 17,514 confirmed.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—43 dioceses, 2 vicariates, 45 bishops, 2,108 priests, 2,384 churches. The estimated population varies from two, to three and a half millions; the immigration should give the latter number, but only the former can be found.

England.—*The Church of England.* "Facts and Documents, showing the alarming state of the Diocese of Oxford," is the title of a pamphlet, which is making no little stir. Among the facts are these:—That 123 persons have seceded to Rome from Oxford colleges, the larger part being clergymen. Oriel has contributed 17, Christ church 15, and Brasenose 13 to the list; and the Wilberforce family a large number. Bishop Wilberforce with his archdeacons and deans, has published a reply, denying the charge of Romanizing tendencies.

The meeting of the two Houses of Convocation in February, was of more than ordinary interest. The Bishop of Oxford in the Upper House, made propositions about the introduction of additional services in the Prayer-Book, the jurisdiction of Parliament over the church, and the revival of the powers of Convocation. The proposals were negatived by the casting vote of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The question of Auricular Confession, in the case of Rev. Alfred Poole, is arousing the deep Protestant feeling of England. Mr. Poole's license was revoked by the Bishop of London; and the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to hear his appeal; but the Court of Queen's Bench has ordered a trial. [Jan. 28th.]

The London Congregational Chapel Building Society has erected 51 chapels,

with sittings for 35,000, at a cost of £110,000.

The *Quakers* in England, now number about 15,000. Modifications of some of their rules in respect to marriage and dress, are under discussion. The question in respect to marriage is simply whether the ceremony may be performed under their sanction, when the parties are not members of the society. The standing committee, or committee on sufferings, has reported upon these matters, and the subject is referred to the next yearly meeting.

The *Roman Catholics* in England have increased since 1829 as follows:—In that year they numbered 447 priests and 449 chapels; in 1858, 1204 priests, 902 chapels, 27 monasteries, 109 nunneries.

Ireland.—*Roman Catholics.* A Synod is to be convened by order of the Pope, upon the subject of education, to put it more exclusively under the control of the church, allowing only a slight supervision to the state, though the state is expected to pay for the schools. Another project is, to end the discussion about the Maynooth endowment, by giving that college £1,000,000 outright instead of its present annual grant. The Cullen College, of which Dr. Newman is the head, is far from being in a thriving state; and Trinity College has begun to allow Roman Catholic youth to have a share in its honors.

Scotland.—*The News of the Churches* for March 1st has a communication upon the American Revival, "Impressions of an Eye-witness." It is by Professor Wm. Gibson of Belfast, whose visit to this country with Mr. McClure is recollected with so much satisfaction by the many friends he made in his brief sojourn. The same article has been in substance prefixed to a reprint in Ireland of the work prepared with so much care under the auspices of the Young

Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia, entitled "Pentecost; or, the Work of God in Philadelphia, A.D. 1858." This little work has been received abroad with the favor it deserves, as an accurate and unexaggerated account of that remarkable religious awakening.

The question of church patronage is beginning to be discussed anew in the Established Church of Scotland. Dr. Gillan, in the Glasgow Presbytery, proposed an overture to the Assembly on the matter, in opposition to the principle of Lord Aberdeen's Act; the question of union with the Free Church is also involved. The Assembly may not choose to act upon it yet; but the separation of the unhallowed union of Church and State is the great question at work, not only in England, but also on the Continent.

At Aberdeen a religious awakening is reported, of which lay preaching, by members of the Episcopal Church, is the most marked and novel characteristic. Among these lay preachers are Mr. Brownlow North, Mr. Gordon of Park Hill, and Mr. McDonald Grant. Rev. James Smith of Greyfriars has been called to account for allowing the use of his church to these laymen.

The collections in the Free Church of Scotland for 1857-8 amounted to £331,870; in the Established Church, £62,686.

Scottish Episcopal Church.—The sentence against Mr. Cheyne, by Bishop Suther of Aberdeen, has been confirmed by the college of Bishops of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Cheyne advocated the Real Presence, in the sense that "Christ is now offering himself an ever-living victim without shedding of blood." Dr. Pusey, in a letter, declares that this is the first time that the doctrine of the Real Presence has been condemned by the authorities of an Episcopal Church. The Scottish Episcopal Church has 7 bishops, 166 clergy, 155 churches. The

old Scottish Service Book is used in 57 of the churches, and the English Prayer Book in 99.

A comparison of the *Roman Catholics* in Scotland in 1829 and 1857 gives the following results: 1829, priests, 447, chapels, 449, and no nunneries or monasteries; and 1857, priests, 1142, chapels, 894, nunneries, 100, monasteries, 23.

France.—The ultramontane party, represented by the *Univers*, is strongly opposed to the policy of the Emperor in opposition to Austria; for Austria, under the new Concordat, is the hope and strength of the Papacy. The same journal also denounces the appointment of four Jews as members of the General Council of the provinces of Algiers.

Protestantism in France.—The *Annuaire* for 1859, published by the French Protestant Historical Society, gives the full statistics of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. The *Reformed Church* has, in 43 departments, 105 consistories, 617 ministers, 826 places of worship, and 1139 schools. The *Lutheran Church* has 44 consistories, 281 ministers, 403 churches, 378 places of worship, and 609 schools. Both these churches have been reorganized under the present Emperor. The Reformed Church is under a council of sixteen; the Lutheran is under a directory of six members, and a supreme consistory of 28. Besides these, there is the Union of Evangelical Churches, with 23 congregations, and other independent churches. The Methodist Conference has 29 ministers, 72 local preachers, and 1511 members. The proposition to celebrate the third centenary of Protestantism in France (May 25, 1559) had received, January 8, the assent of only 26 out of the 105 Reformed consistories.

It is said that the Emperor has in hand a new revision of the laws, so as to bring the churches, both Protestant and Roman, more entirely under the power of

the state. The Protestants are to receive higher emoluments and fuller synodical powers; to return to their orthodox standards, and not to make aggressions on the Roman Catholics. No dissenters are to be tolerated who are not Frenchmen, and who have not received degrees from the authorized French colleges. This would exclude the Methodists and Baptists. Pastor Robineau of Nantes was deposed, January 11, for teaching Baptist views.

Switzerland.—Merian Burekhardt of Basle, who died in August last, has bequeathed to that city property to the amount of fifty or sixty million francs; the bequest is to take effect upon the decease of his widow. He also gave for the use of the poor a million francs, and to the Basle Missionary Society four hundred thousand. This society was founded in 1815, with a mission school attached. Its receipts in 1857 were 495,000 francs. It supports 45 laborers, at 15 stations, in the Canary Islands, on the Malabar coast, and in China.

A Catechism, by the Company of Pastors of the National Church, is announced. It is now about a century since the Venerable Company of Geneva put forth the famous document in explanation of their theological position, against the charge that they were Socinians. This was in 1758.

The total population of Switzerland by the last census was 2,392,740, including 2198 foreigners. Of these 971,840 are Roman Catholic, 1,417,754 Protestant Reformed, 3145 Jews. Of the Protestants about 30,000 adhere to the Free Church, chiefly in the canton de Vaud. Between five and six thousand are enrolled on the books.

Holland.—The *Jansenist Church* has been separated from the Roman Catholic since 1732. It has one archbishop-

ric, viz Utrecht, and two bishoprics, Haarlem and Deventer. With one exception, all the incumbents of these sees, appointed since the separation, have been regularly excommunicated by the Pope, as soon as appointed. John Van Santen, archbishop of Utrecht since Nov. 13, 1825, died in 1858. The cathedral chapter elected Henry Loos as his successor. The papal excommunication followed, as a matter of course, in November, declaring his consecration to be "illegal and sacrilegious." This church now numbers about 5000. The present bishop of Haarlem is Henry John Van Buul, elected May 10, 1848. Herman Heykamp is bishop of Deventer, elected July, 1854. In a subsequent number of this Review there will be an account of the History of the Jansenist Church, on the basis of the able work of Rev. J. M. Neale, published last year in Oxford.

Prussia.—The Union between the Lutherans and Reformed has received new strength from the new administration. Van Bethmann Hollweg, so long the president of the Church Diet, is now Minister of Worship and Public Instruction. Under his auspices a bill has been introduced into the Prussian legislature on the subject of divorce. Since 1748 the Prussian law of divorce has been very loose; and the clergy have been compelled to perform the ceremony even in cases where they thought the marriage unscriptural. The proposed law abrogates this compulsion. The present government is so strongly in favor of the United Evangelical Church, that Hengstenberg is seriously discussing the question of an entire secession of the Lutherans, though no man has been a more unflinching advocate of the necessity of a union of Church and State.

The *Deutsche Zeitschrift* for February has an interesting account of the late

revival in America, by an American, with a translation of an article from the *Boston Watchman and Reflector*. The editors, however, take exception to the high praise given to the general religious condition of the United States.

The Evangelical Council of the Prussian Church has published an order, addressed to the consistory of Eastern Prussia, requiring the formation of a church session wherever one does not now exist. This is an important step in developing the Presbyterian constitution of the churches. It gives the laity such a part in administration of church affairs as they have not yet had. The session is to be elected by the parish.

Dr. Wichern is about establishing a *Johannes Stift* in Berlin, on the plan of his *Rauhes Haus* at Hamburg. The superintendence of the Prussian prisons has been confided to him. The brothers of this house are in such demand that, during the last 12 years, 672 were asked for, from 452 different places, and only 180 could be sent. They are now laboring throughout Germany, also in Russia, Switzerland, Italy, Constantinople, London, etc.

Sweden.—The act allowing conventions, under certain restrictions, has received the assent of the king, Oscar I., though opposed by the clergy. It allows meetings of the laity for religious purposes, provided the clergy and police officers may always have a right to enter, and, in case of disturbance, break them up.

In Denmark the alteration of the church constitution is under discussion. Lutheranism is no longer the exclusive State religion, nor the king the head of the church. The administration now centres in the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

In both Sweden and Denmark the religious awakening continues to increase, embracing all classes of the population.

The Baptists in Sweden now number 45 churches and 2500 members.

Austria.—The Concordat of 1855 is bearing its legitimate fruits. New restrictions are imposed upon Protestant schools. Catholic children are forbidden, under all circumstances, attendance upon any other than Roman Catholic schools. Nor are Protestant children allowed to enter Catholic schools, except with restrictions upon their intercourse with the Catholic children. Increased respect for the church and the clergy is enjoined upon all the officers of the government, by a special decree.

In Protestant *Wurtemberg*, under the operation of the Concordat, Protestant books are not allowed in the prisons and hospitals. Barth's "Missionary Magazine" and Wichern's "Flying Leaves" have been excluded through the influence of the priests.

Greece.—The first number of a religious paper in the Greek language was published on the 18th of January O. S. (30th of January N. S.) 1857, it having the significant title of 'Ο 'Αστὴρ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, *The Star of the East*. The editor, Mr. Michael D. Kalopothakes, is a native of Maina, the southern part of ancient Laconia, where he spent his early youth, and attended the schools founded by the American missionaries, Leyburn and Houston. Afterwards, when studying at the University of Otho in Athens, he became acquainted with Rev. Jonas King, D.D., through whose instrumentality he was led to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. Although he had finished a four years' course in medicine, and held an appointment as surgeon in the Greek army, he determined to come to America and study theology in the Union Theological Seminary at New York. In 1857 he was ordained as an Evangelist

of the Presbyterian Church, and returned to his native country with a view to furthering the cause of true religion by whatever means might appear most promising.

Having received from a number of American Christians funds to purchase a press and printing materials, he commenced the publication of his weekly journal under favorable auspices. Mr. K. is connected with the powerful family of Mavromichalés, to which belonged the celebrated Petros Bey, appointed governor of Maina by the Turks before the revolution. He could consequently rely upon the support of the Laconians, whose representative and organ he became, styling his establishment "the printing office of Laconia." Almost every newspaper published at Athens belongs avowedly to one of the three political parties,—the Russian, French and English. The *Star of the East* has taken an independent position, although the editor does not attempt to conceal the interest and affection he entertains for American institutions and character. But the political is lost in the moral cast of the journal. It is essentially a *family* paper, occupying a place hitherto vacant. Of the eight quarto pages (of the size of the London Athenæum), only the last two or three are devoted to political intelligence. The first article is generally of a strictly religious character. For example, we have a series of contributions on the subject of "Household Prayer," running through eleven numbers. In this discussion a freedom is manifested which would scarcely be tolerated in any other than a native. Of course it cannot be expected that a truly Christian interpretation of the doctrines of the Bible will meet with no opposition from the more bigoted class, and especially the priesthood; but Mr. Kalopothakes possesses the singular advantage of being, notwithstanding his strictly Evangelical views, a member of the Greek

Church in regular standing. At least, as far as we know, he has never been excommunicated or suspended from its communion. He can, therefore, appeal with boldness to the example and teachings of the early fathers against the abuses that have crept into the church. The proper observance of the Lord's Day, the moral excellence of the Holy Scriptures, and Atheism, are among the subjects to which considerable space is allotted. There are also translations of important historical treatises which are not accessible to a Greek, acquainted with his native tongue alone. A series of papers presents a very complete sketch of the Jesuits. There are also extracts of interesting passages from the works of Dr. Livingstone, Koraes, Bambas, and others of our own day, which almost startle us from their proximity to others, in a dialect slightly different from that of Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzen.

The *Star of the East* contains also many articles on subjects more attractive to the mass of its readers; in the department of natural history Mr. Orphanides, professor of Botany in the University, is a regular contributor. In general the papers exhibit much talent and acquaintance with the best models of composition. The style is classical, conforming to the requirements of an Athenian public, whose taste, as it becomes cultivated, demands from year to year a nearer approximation to the Greek of Plato and Xenophon. At the same time we are glad to detect none of that servile admiration of the French which enters so largely into the mode of writing of many journalists, and is so displeasing to the foreigner, who turns to a Greek paper from the perusal of the masterpieces of the period of Athens' glory. The moral and religious tone is uniformly good. We believe that this publication is destined, in all human probability, to exercise an import-

ant influence, in disseminating the seeds of a pure Christianity, where superstition has long been paramount.

We cannot state the precise circulation of the *Star of the East*. None of the Athenian journals, however, have more than three hundred to five hundred subscribers.

A number of copies of this journal are taken in the United States, by persons desirous of sustaining the infant enterprise, and at the same time of having access to a periodical in the modern Greek. The subscription price for the U. S., on account of the high rate of postage, is \$5 a year.

Foreign Missions.—In connexion with the fifteen largest Protestant missionary Societies there are now laboring in all parts of the world 1584 missionaries with 1311 helpers, at 862 stations: the whole number of converts is reckoned at about 700,000.—In East India before the late insurrection, there were at 313 stations, 450 missionaries, 48 native preachers, 700 native catechists and 120,000 Christian converts in 313 churches. Eleven missionaries, with eight women and four children, lost their lives during the insurrection.—The receipts of the eight principal BRITISH SOCIETIES for missions in 1858 were £681,000: viz. *Church Missionary Society* £620,766 with £24,718 as a special fund for India: *London Society*, £72,966; the *Wesleyan*, £123,680; the *Baptist*, £22,946, etc.—The statistics of the GERMAN SOCIETIES, according to *Matthes Chronik*, were as follow: the *Basle Society*, founded 1815, 496,000 francs; 15 stations and 45 missionaries in Western Africa: the *Berlin*, 41,920 thalers; 18 laborers at 11 stations in South Africa: *Rhenish Society*, in 1856, 64,474 thalers; 19 stations in South Africa, 8 in Borneo and 2 in China: *North German*, 3189 thalers; 8 missionaries in West Africa and 3 in New Zealand: the *Evangelical*

Lutheran Society of Leipzig formerly at Dresden, now strictly Lutheran, received 40,000 thalers and has 14 missionaries: the *Hermannsburg Union*, founded by Harms, has sent missionaries and colonists to Port Natal three times since 1856; it has a revenue of 15,000 thlr.

Turkey.—Cheering tidings come to us from Constantinople. Upon the Seminary of the American Mission, upon the children of the missionary families, and upon the school for Jewish girls of the mission of the Free Church of Scotland, the Spirit of God has descended with life-giving power. The *Missionary Herald* is filled with illustrations of a quiet, but powerful spiritual movement throughout the Turkish Empire. Two new cases of Mohammedans professing evangelical Christianity are just announced. Through the corruptions and inefficiency of the local magistracy, there are often cruel persecutions; as just now in Cana—not “of Galilee” but near Tyre, where about forty souls have recently left the Romish Church for Protestantism, and elsewhere in Syria; but the marvel is that protection and freedom wholly denied in the bordering Christian empires of Austria and Russia, are pledged, and to a good degree secured, by a Mohammedan government to Protestant missionaries and their converts of every class. The right of Mussulmen to profess Christianity, in opposition to the law of the Koran, which makes it a capital crime, is now publicly acknowledged, and beginning to be tested in various parts of the empire. Ten adults have renounced Mohammedanism in Constantinople; one of them is a regular preacher of the Gospel.

China.—The recent treaties of Tientsin, June 26, 1858, open the way to enlarged missionary operations. The Religion of Jesus (Protestant), and the

Religion of the Lord of Heaven (Catholic), are distinctly recognised—the former for the first time. The 8th article of Lord Elgin's treaty reads: "The doctrine of Jesus, and the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, teach the practice of virtue and the treatment of others as ourselves. Henceforth all teachers and professors of it shall, one and all, be protected. No man peaceably following his calling, without offence, shall be in the least oppressed or hindered by the Chinese authorities." The French treaty, June 27, it is said, guarantees the annulling of all past decrees against the Roman Catholics. The Russian treaty of June 13th, allows free course to the Greek missionaries throughout the empire. A full list has been published of all the Protestant missionaries in China. Twenty-four Societies have sent 218 missionaries, 87 of whom remain in the field; 23 are absent on account of health, or for other causes. The London Missionary Society began the work in 1807, and sent Robert Morrison, who died in 1834; W. Milne, who died in 1822, and Dr. W. H. Medhurst, who died in 1857. The Netherlands Missionary Society sent Charles Gutzlaff in 1827. The American B. C. F. Missions began their labors in 1829, Drs. Bridgman and Abeel being the first missionaries. The American Baptist Board began in 1836; the Episcopal Church in 1835; Bishop Boone was sent out in 1837. The American Board has had in all 30 missionaries in China, 8 of whom now remain; the Baptist Union, 11; the Episcopal Board, 13; the Presbyterian Board, 30; the London Missionary Society, 37; the Church Missionary Society, 16. The Rev. Dr. Wentworth, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, writes from Fuh Chau Sept. 18, proposing a convention "of all the Missionary Societies in Europe and America to map out the 81 provinces of China, and the adjacent islands, for immediate occupancy."

The *Annals* of the Propagation Society of Lyons, report for Cochin China and Tonquin (united since 1802), a staff of 3,464, as employed in the missionary work, viz:—7 apostolical districts—3 in Cochin China, and 4 in Tonquin; each having a bishop and coadjutor, 14 in all, 10 of whom are French, and 4 Spanish; 60 European missionaries, 240 native priests, 400 natives training for the priesthood; 650 catechists, and 1,600 females employed in works of charity.

India.—The proclamation of Queen Victoria, transferring the government from the East India Company to the British Crown, marks an epoch in the history of Christianity in India. Her Majesty's distinct avowal of belief in the Christian religion has been welcomed with great satisfaction in India, as well as throughout the whole Christian world. This did not offend the heathen and Mohammedans; but the injunction of the document against interference, by any in authority, with religious belief or worship—unfortunately phrased in English—has been so rendered in translations as to lead to the interpretation, that the Queen forbade all missionary proselytism. Serious outbreaks of popular violence have in consequence been instigated in many places. In Tinnevely a riot was excited against the Christians for carrying their dead along a certain highway; it was suppressed by the military with the loss of several lives. In Travancore, five or six chapels of the London Missionary Society's mission, have been burned; and two mission stations are threatened with destruction. This was occasioned by the refusal of converted Shanar women to return to the custom, imposed on them by the higher castes, of going abroad in a state of semi-nudity. The British Resident, one of a rapidly disappearing class of *heathenised* officials, gave the incredible decision that the blame rested

upon the Christian females for violating an established Shanar usage. This condition of things cannot last. The Church Missionary Intelligencer expresses the conviction that no ministry can long stand, which shall attempt to maintain the "traditional policy" of the East India Company's government in the treatment of caste and religious questions.

Recent letters from India speak of a work of spiritual conversion at several points among the British troops, and of a gratifying increase of religious men in the military and civil service. The suppression of the mutiny has been followed by the resumption of missionary labor, and new manifestations of divine influence in the region desolated by it. In a village near Meerut, where it broke forth, a congregation of some sixty souls has been newly gathered. The American Mission (of the General Assembly's Board) at Futteghurh, has been re-established. The blood of the murdered missionaries and native Christians is already proving the seed of a spiritual harvest. Sixty-five communicants, in circumstances of most affecting interest, celebrated the first communion; and three sepoys were added by baptism. The henceforth ever-memorable Lucknow has been taken possession of for Christ. In one of the two divisions of the city, the Church Missionary Society have commenced operations with three missionaries. In the other, the American Methodists have two men. They preach to "the crowds," and report a number of Hindoo and Mohammedan inquirers. Five others are about to sail for this mission, which is in Rohilkund, north of Oude.

The remarkable success of American Baptist missionaries among the *Karens* of Burmah continues. An ordained native preacher, on one tour, lately baptized at nineteen stations 143 persons, all of whom are said to give credible

evidence of piety. The wild tribes which stretch far over the eastern border of Burmah, moved by the position of their brethren in Pegu, demanded Christianity and English protection. A preacher and six assistants sent among them, received the most cordial welcome. At Chota Nagpur, in the west of Bengal, a German mission has just baptized more than 200 converts from among a rude "hill tribe." Among the Tamil people in the Madura district, the missionaries of the American Board report the organization, in 1858, of six new churches, making the whole number 28; received by baptism from the heathen, 112; total membership of the churches, 997; in the Christian congregations, 5,804; an increase during the year of 497. The gospel is there gaining a hold upon those of higher castes than were formerly reached by it.

Fiji Islands.—The reported cession to Great Britain of extensive territory, and a qualified political jurisdiction in the Fiji Islands, directs attention to the progress made in christianizing a cannibal race,—the fiercest savages of the Pacific Ocean. The Wesleyan Missionary Society reports the following statistics of the mission in that group:—missionaries and assistants, 18; stations 8; catechists, etc., 215; local preachers, 154; total church members, 6,049; added last year, 1,778; on trial for membership, 2,690; attendants on public worship, including pupils in schools, 55,481; increase of last year, 15,129; pupils in Sabbath schools, 20,185; in day schools, 20,906. This is a remarkable statement. Surely "the isles wait for His law." This mission is sustained entirely by the Wesleyans of Australia.

Abyssinia.—*Sapeto*, apostolic missionary from Rome, began a mission in Tigré and Samen, about twenty years

since. The fruits of it are seen in the submission to the Pope of King Nagoussié, through his brother Giorghis; 50,000 of his subjects are reported as uniting in this adhesion. Three bishoprics and ten churches have already been established. The total population of Tigré is said to be 3,000,000, and of Samen about 1,000,000. The prevalent religion is a mixture of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and a rude type of Christianity.

Old Calabar.—King Eyo Honesty died December 3. He has been a warm friend to the missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church ever since they began their work, though he never professed Christianity. No scenes of slaughter attended his death—a significant token of the good already accomplished by the mission. A presbytery, with five ministers, was formed there last year.

Moravian Missions.—The "Moravian," a weekly paper published at Bethlehem, Pa., under the date of March 17, 1859, gives a list of the names of all Moravian missionaries, and a view

of their operations. From that statement we have compiled the following table:—

	STATIONS.	MISSION-ARIES.	CONVERTS.
Greenland (commenced 1733).....	4	25	1,977
Labrador (1770).....	4	29	1,204
N. American Indians (1734).....	4	9	515
Danish West Indian Islands (1782).....	8	28	9,680
Jamaica (1754).....	18	82	12,247
Antigua (1756).....	7	28	8,040
St. Kitts (1775).....	4	10	8,608
Barbadoes (1765).....	4	11	2,871
Tobago (1790; renewed, 1827).....	2	3	
Mosquito Coast (1848).....	3	7	191
Surinam (1735).....	10	60	24,840
South Africa (1786; renewed, 1792).....	9	59	7,258
Thibet (1853).....	1	3	
Australia (1849).....	1	2	
Total.....	74	801	72,426

About 21,000 of the so-called converts are said to be communicants. In missionary self-sacrifice the Moravians are an example to all other Christian bodies. In 1858 their receipts amounted to about \$187,500, of which \$72,700 were donations, and the rest the income from work and trade at the different stations.

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

THE VATICAN CODEX.—This long expected work has been published at Rome, in 5 vols. 4to. We abridge some criticisms of it, contained in the *British Quarterly Review* and the *Foreign Evangelical Review*. The Vatican Codex is generally regarded as the most ancient copy of the Greek Scriptures in existence. When and whence it came to Rome no one knows. Tischendorf and Tregelles ascribe its date to the middle of the fourth century. Bentley used three collations of it for his New Testament, 1721; Mico collated it 1799; Birch 1788–1801. Under Napoleon, it was for a time in Paris. Hug inspected and gave the fullest account of it. Since its recovery by the Vatican, it has been guarded with jealous care. Tischendorf and Tregelles petitioned in vain for permission to copy portions of it; they were only allowed to look at certain passages. About thirty years ago Cardinal Mai began to prepare it for the press; but the plan followed was to put the Sixtine edition at the basis, instead of republishing the codex verbatim. Consequently many passages are inserted in the text which are not in the MS., *e.g.* the contested passage on the three witnesses, 1 John v. 7; the account of the adulterous woman, John vii. 53 to viii. 12; also Matth. xii. 47; Mark xv. 28; Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17–34; the account of the impotent man, John v. 3, 4; 1 Peter v. 3. And while these passages are inserted, others are not, *e.g.* Matt. xxiii. 14; Acts xxiv. 7–8.

This original Vatican codex is also defective at other points. It does not contain anything of the Epistle to the Hebrews after the fourteenth verse of the ninth chapter. The Pastoral Epistles and the Apocalypse are wanting. In the Roman edition these deficiencies are supplied from MSS. of the eighth and tenth centuries.

It further appears that the printing of this edition was most carelessly executed. It was finished in 1838, and the Cardinal, until his death, in 1854, was employed much of the time in the work of collation and revision. Many corrections were made with the pen; Vercellone, the editor, appends a long list of errata, which, as Tischendorf has shown, is not yet complete. This inaccuracy is one of the reasons for the long delay in the publication of the work.

The publication of this codex, it is alleged, also discloses a surprising number of blunders and omissions by the original copyist, the result of

mere carelessness. The enthusiasm for the uncial MSS. will thus be somewhat diminished. The rule that the reading of the oldest MSS. is to be preferred must receive large abatements. Among the instances of such blunders, cited by the *British Quarterly Review*, are Mark i. 24, *ou* instead of *sol*; xiii. 18, *σείλος* for *είλος*; Luke xvi. 12, *ἡμέτερον* instead of *ἐμέτερον*; 1 Peter ii. 1, *φόνους* for *φθόνους*: equally gross errors in Acts iv. 25; 2 Peter ii. 18; 1 Cor. i. 2; Rom. xiv. 18. Other manifest omissions are Ephes. i. 15, of "love," though the article is there; Col. iv. 16, of "epistle;" Thess. ii. 16, "sins;" Heb. vii. 12, "law." The context proves that these words must have originally been in the respective passages.

Some of the remarkable readings of this Codex on disputed passages are the following: Mark iii. 29, "is in danger of eternal offence, or sin," (*ἀμαρτηματος*) instead of "condemnation." Luke viii. 34, "and he put them all out," is omitted; a blunder of the copyist. Acts xx. 28, "the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood;" the reading of the Vatican Codex is *God* (*θεοῦ*, and not *Lord* (*κυρίου*). John i. 18, "the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father;" the Vatican Codex reads, "the only begotten God" (*μονογενὴς θεός*). This is accepted by Tregelles as the genuine reading. Rom. v. 1, the Vatican MS. reads *ἔχομεν* instead of *ἐχομεν*, giving the passage the force of an exhortation rather than of an assertion. Mark xvi. 9-20 is wanting, but found in every other MS.; and in the Vatican a blank page is left after the 8th verse. John vii. 53 to viii. 11, is also wanting. This MS. also sanctions the Vulgate rendering of Luke ii. 14, "Peace on earth to men of good will." 1 Pet. iii. 15, the reading is, "Sanctify the Lord Christ (instead of the Lord God) in your hearts." This is a citation from Isaiah viii. 18: "Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself," and thus identifies Christ and Jehovah. Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles accept the corrected reading. Matt. vi. 18, "For thine is the kingdom," etc. 1 John v. 7, John v. 8, 4, and Acts viii. 37 are lacking in the Vatican MS. The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, in commenting on these variations, expresses the gratification which must be felt in finding "that criticism requires so few and trivial changes to be made in the generally received edition. It must be yet more gratifying to find that some of the most important changes which are demanded (such as 1 Peter iii. 14) tend rather to elucidate and confirm than to obscure or invalidate the great truths which it is our happiness to believe."

The *British Quarterly* thinks that the merits of the *textus receptus* will be more fully acknowledged in consequence of the publication of this MS.: "Much of the contempt which modern critics have expressed for the common Stephanic and Elzevir text of the Greek Testament, is unmerited and unjust."

The English reprint of the New Testament has come to hand while these sheets are passing through the press. It is published in London by Williams and Norgate, in a handsome octavo volume of 508 pages, and can be

obtained of Westermann & Co., in New York, for \$3 60. A French translation of the Codex, by Rilliet of Geneva, is announced.

The Roman edition of the whole work costs about forty-five dollars.

The Syriac MSS. in the British Museum are receiving increased attention. There are more than 600 vols. of them, and by over 200 authors. A work has been recently issued at Berlin by D. A. P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, of which we find an account in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. It consists of about 200 pages, and gives, from these Syriac MSS., works ascribed to Sixtus (or Xystus), Bishop of Rome, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Hippolytus and other Christian writers, besides fragments from Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plutarch and others. The editor supposes this Sixtus to have been the Bishop of Rome in A.D. 116 (not the Sixtus of A.D. 257, from whom we have moral apophthegms), between the times of Ignatius and Polycarp. The reviewer doubts whether such high antiquity can be ascribed to the writer, who is of a meditative and philosophical turn of mind, free from all ritualism, and well acquainted with all the sacred books. There is one curious extract bearing on the Trinity: "Now there is a God, and there is a Son to God, in one equality with the Spirit of Holiness." This latter form of statement may aid in the interpretation of the phrase in the New Testament, in the contested passages. Among the remains of Gregory Thaumaturgus (of Neocaesarea) is a complete treatise against the Patripassians, from a MS. A.D. 562. Extracts from Julius of Rome relate to the Arian controversy. From Hippolytus are eight extracts; the longest is from his exposition of the Book of Daniel, which is translated in the *Journal*.

M. de Rossi is publishing at Rome a full collection of the inscriptions contained in the Catacombs.

A remarkable discovery has recently been made in Spain, near Toledo, of eight crowns of gold, set with jewels, which belonged to the Visigoth king Receswind, who reigned from 653 to 672. They were found by some peasants, and have been purchased for 100,000 francs for the Museum of Cluny, in Paris. They are said to be admirable specimens of work in gold; their intrinsic value is estimated at 60,000 francs. It is conjectured that they may have been taken from the cathedral of Toledo, when that city was plundered by the Arabs in 711.

The libraries of the pastors, Van Voorst, of Amsterdam, were sold in March; the catalogue, which we have received through the kindness of Mr. F. W. Christern, is a valuable bibliographical work. The collection contained 20,000 theological dissertations in Latin, published in Germany and Holland, between 1620 and 1830.

A Greek manuscript of the Gospels has recently been discovered in Athens, in a garret, supposed to be of the date 480. It has been deposited in the library of the University.

Ch. F. Trip, *Theophanies in the Old and New Testament*. Leyden. 220 pp. 8vo. This work obtained the prize of the Society of the Hague for the

Defence of Christianity. Gersdorf's Repertory speaks of it as a work of great completeness in its historical portions. The investigation is chiefly upon the angel of Jehovah: that this angel was identical with Christ was the opinion of nearly all the Greek fathers, and of the Latin to Augustine; of the chief Lutheran and Calvinist divines in opposition to the Arminians and Socinians. The same view is adopted by Hengstenberg, Lisco, Stier and Kurtz. Sack, Tholuck and Ewald consider the angel to be a real manifestation of Jehovah, but not identical with the Son of God. The work of Trip denies the real pre-existence of Christ, and the profound truth in the well known words of Irenæus—*Invisibile etenim filii est pater, visibile autem patris filius*.

A translation of the *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism* has been published at Brussels for the use of the churches of the Belgian Evangelical Society. The translator says, "This little catechism is a masterpiece of sound and evangelical theology. Written with extraordinary precision and conciseness, it is never tedious. Every word is in its place, and expresses exactly what is meant to be said."

GERMANY.

The German Universities in 1858.—In twenty Universities, excluding the Austrian and the Swiss, there were 1,455 professors and teachers, viz: ordinary professors, 681; extraordinary, 261; honorary, 60; private teachers, 341; teachers of languages, fencing, gymnastics, etc., 112. The University of Berlin has 165, Munich 118, Göttingen 112, Leipsic 110, Bonn 95, Heidelberg 94, Breslau 91, Tübingen 71, Halle 68, Jena 65, Königsberg 61, Giessen 58, Marburg 58, Erlangen 54, Greifswald 53, Würzburg 48, Kiel 45, Freiburg 40, Rostock 32, Münster 17.

The whole number of students was 11,782. Berlin enrolled 1,318, Munich 1,303, Leipsic 839, Bonn 806, Breslau 755, Halle 710, Tübingen 706, Göttingen 676, Heidelberg 659, Würzburg 650, Erlangen 585, Jena 471, Münster 451, Giessen 383, Königsberg 383, Freiburg 303, Greifswald 272, Marburg 256, Kiel 132, Rostock 124. Besides these there were 987 students not matriculated.

The students of theology in sixteen Protestant faculties numbered 2,368; in seven Roman Catholic, 1,192. Of the latter Münster had the largest number, 246; Bonn 209, Breslau 187, Freiburg 161, Munich 147, Tübingen 144, and Würzburg 98. In the Protestant faculties Halle takes the lead with 465 students, Erlangen 345, Berlin 281, Leipsic 205, Tübingen 187, Göttingen 160, Jena 135, Königsberg 121, Heidelberg 105, Breslau 94, Marburg 82, Bonn 52, Giessen 51, Greifswald 32, Kiel 29, Rostock 24. There were 3,198 students of law, 2,471 of medicine, 2,553 of philosophy and philology.

George B. Winer, professor in Leipsic, died May 12, 1858. He taught in Leipsic from 1817, in Erlangen 1824 to 1832, and then returned to Leipsic. Gersdorf's Repertory says that he gave 228 courses of lectures on fifty-eight subjects to 22,327 auditors. His lectures were at one period the chief attraction at Leipsic. In 1834, out of 494 theological students, all but 76 attended his courses. His chief published works are: *On the Samaritan Pentateuch*, 1817; *Elements of Hebrew*, 1819; on the question whether Justin Martyr had the Canonical Gospels, 1819; *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, 1820 (third edition 1847); on the Galatians, 1821; *Hand-book of Theol. Lit.*, 1821 (third edition 1838-42); *Rabbinical and Talmudic Chrestomathy*, 1822; *New Testament Grammar*, 1822, sixth edition 1853 (a translation is in course of publication at Philadelphia); on the Syriac version of the New Testament, 1823; *Chaldee Grammar*, 1826; *Comparative View of Confessions of Faith*, 1829 (second edition 1837); *Chaldee Reading Book*, 1825; *Exegetical Studies*, 1827; *Specimen of a New Hebrew Lexicon*, 1826, and numerous programs, dissertations, etc. No philologist has more insisted upon the grammatical and historical sense as the only legitimate basis of interpretation; and he himself declared that the progress of a just philological criticism has generally tended to confirm the evangelical, as opposed to the rationalistic, interpretation of the Scriptures.

Hugo Lämmer, private teacher in the University of Berlin, author of the *Essay on the Roman Catholic Theology in the Reformation century before the Council of Trent*, is said to have become a convert to Romanism.

The second *Heft* of the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, contains an essay by Dr. Albrecht Ritschl, of Bonn, on the Visible and Invisible Church; a treatise by Edward Graf, court chaplain at Meiningen, on the Spiritual Revelations of God in the Scriptures; a criticism by Holtzmann, of Heidelberg, on Schneckenburg's Views about the Epistle to the Hebrews; a dissertation by Eduard Riehm, of Heidelberg, on the thesis that the Scriptures are both Divine and Human; a review, by G. E. Steitz, of Dr. D. Schenkel's *Christian Dogmatics from the stand-point of Conscience*; a review, by W. F. Gess, of *Lectures on the Life of the Lord Jesus*, by C. J. Ruggenbach, of Basle; an account of F. G. P. Schopff's *Aurora sive Bibliotheca selecta ex scriptis eorum qui ante Lutherum ecclesiæ studuerunt restituendæ*, is given by the editor of these valuable selections. The *Sermons of T. Colani*, of Strasburg, are eulogised by Kienlen, and C. F. Trip's *Theophanies of the Old Testament*, which obtained a prize from the Society of the Hague, are sharply criticised by Dr. Schulze. The first of the above articles, that on the Church, gives an instructive account of the opinions of the Reformers, Zwingle, Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, noticing particularly a striking change in Melancthon's views in the last edition of his *Loci*, 1543, in which he reckons the ministry of the Gospel among the "notes" of the Church. Graf's essay on the Revelation of God, attempts a purely Biblical view. The whole theory of Revelation rests,

he says, on the two positions, that God is a living God, and that man is made in the divine image: the object of revelation is, first, to impart truth, and thereby, secondly, to sanctify the soul; it all centres in the economy of redemption. The most dubious position in this otherwise able discussion is, that God's special revelations are given only in the state of religious or prophetic ecstasy. The result reached in Holtzmann's treatise on the Hebrews is, that the epistle is not of Pauline origin, though it was written either from or to Rome.

The *Zeitschrift für die lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Parts 1 and 2, 1859, has the following articles: Svenson on Gossolaly, an exegetical and historical dissertation; F. O. Zuschlag, a Sketch of the Apocalypse; F. Mergner, Thoughts on the Lord's Supper; K. Ströbel and A. G. Rudelback, on Professor Baumgarten, and his un-Lutheran Views; Th. Schott, a running criticism on Delitzsch's Genesis; A. Geiger on Leviticus xxiii. 11-15. The bibliography of this periodical is always full and thorough; it is the best part of it.

Niedner's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, Heft 2, 1859, contains a continuation of K. W. H. Hochhuth's History of the Protestant sects in the Hessian Church in the century of the Reformation; this portion of the treatise is upon the Anabaptists under Landgrave Philip, and gives new materials. Carl von Heffel describes the expulsion of the Protestants from Salzburg in 1732. R. A. Lipsius, of Leipsic, contributes materials for the History of Pope Gregory VII.

The *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, edited by I. H. Fichte and H. Ulrici, begins its fortieth volume with the current year. It represents those who have gone through Hegelianism, and are attempting the reconstruction of philosophy in the chaos which pantheism left in speculation. It strives for a combination of the deductive and inductive methods. The possibility of a philosophy of the absolute, or by mere deduction from the absolute, is virtually abandoned by the leading contributors to this journal. Its tone towards English and Scotch philosophy is much more respectful than has been the wont of German criticisms. Induction is allowed a large scope. The union of Christianity and philosophy is the avowed aim of this school, as a whole. We shall recur at some future occasion to the criticisms of this review upon the works of Sir William Hamilton, McCosh, Ferrier, and Calderwood. The first *Heft* for 1859, contains a criticism by M. W. Drobisch, a philosopher of Herbart's school, upon Lotze's Psychology; a comparison, by Dr. Fortlage, of the theories of Herbart and Fichte on the doctrine of the Ego. Ueberweg has an essay on Idealism, Realism, and Ideal-realism. There are also reviews of Schelling's Philosophy of Mythology; of Mehring's Psychological Principles, of Rosenkranz's Science of Reason, of Baggesens's Philosophical Remains, and of the elementary philosophical works of Hassler, Callisen and Gockler.

The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, of which we gave some account

in our first number, abundantly satisfies the high expectations raised by the published list of the contributors. It stands on the broad basis of the Evangelical Alliance. Contributions are sent to it from all parts of Europe, giving the most recent intelligence in a well-digested method. Dr. Hoffmann, general superintendent of Berlin, is writing for it a series of essays upon the Evangelical World, beginning with Germany. These have thus far been contained in each number, to the end of February, and present an admirable sketch of the state of religion in the different parts of Germany.

The *Jahrbücher f. d. deutsche Theologie*, now in their fourth volume, edited by Liebner, Dörner, Ehrenfeuchter, and others, represent a peculiar phase of German theology, of which we shall have something to say in a future number. The second *Heft* for 1859 contains five articles: Sigwart on the Testimony of Paul on the Revelation of Christ to him; Fries on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel's Prophecy; Sigwart, an Apology for Atomism; Berthau on the Old Testament Prophecies about the Glories of the Kingdom of Israel in its own Land; and Ehrenfeuchter on Schelling's Philosophy of Mythology and of Revelation.

The *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, edited by A. Hilgenfeld, is the successor of the Tübingen "Year-Book," and represents the school of Baur. The second *Heft*, 1859, contains: Hitzig on Mark x. 9, and John iii. 34; C. A. Wilkens on Port Royal, or, Jansenism in France; Baur on Paul's doctrine of redemption through the death of Christ; Hilgenfeld, a review of recent works on the critical questions about the Gospels; and two slight controversial articles by Professors Schleiden and Hilgenfeld. The most noticeable article is that of Professor Baur, which is a reply to an essay in the *Studien und Kritiken*, by Schweizer, where he took the ground that Paul did not teach the strictly vicarious nature of Christ's sufferings under the law for our redemption from sin. Baur has nothing to gain by misinterpreting Paul, for he does not admit his authority, and he shows clearly that Paul does teach (Gal. iii. 13-14, 2 Cor. v. 15, Rom. iii. 25) the substance of the orthodox doctrine. In this way even infidelity may render aid in Biblical interpretation.

Of Dr. J. G. H. Grässe's History of the Literature of all known Nations, the ninth part of the third division of the third volume is published. This division embraces the literary history of the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth, century.

Theology.—H. Hepp, History of the Lutheran Formula of Concord, second volume. A Peip, Christosophy. A. W. Diekhoff, The Lutheran Doctrine about the Holy Scriptures, against Hoffmann. The second volume of Dursch's (Rom. Cath.) Symbolism of the Christian Religion is upon Doctrines; the first was upon the Symbolism in Art.

Biblical Literature.—C. Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce* is now complete in its eighth edition, with a full critical apparatus, price 8½ thlr.; a seventh edition of his smaller works appears at the same time, price 2½ thlr. Ewald's Year-Book of Biblical Science, vol. 9. *Old Testament*

Commentaries.—Hupfeld on the Psalms, vol. 2, 2 thlr.; Neumann, Jeremiah of Anathoth, vol. 2, 2½ thlr.; Balmer-Rinck, Ezekiel's Vision. *New Testament.*—Dalmer on the Colossians, 1½ thlr.; Lange's Bibel-work, vol. 3, Luke by J. J. Van Oosterzee; Harless on the Ephesians, second edition; Riehm, the Doctrines of the Epistle to the Hebrews; Weiss on the Philippians; Mehring on Romans, vol. 1; a new edition of the Commentaries of Aquinas on Paul's Epistles, 3 vols.

Patristics.—F. Oehler, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. The works of Gregory of Nyssa, translated, vol. iii. F. Oehler, Corpus Hæreseologicum, Tom. ii. Epiphanius Panaria, eorumque Anacephaleosis, Tom. i., Pars ii.

Church History and Biography.—Life and Writings of Henry Bullinger, by C. Pestalozzi, in the work on the Fathers of the Reformed Church, edited by Hagenbach. A. T. Gfrörer, Gregory VII. and his Age, vol. 1. K. Hase, a Historical Sketch of the Sacred Drama of the Middle Ages. H. Ewald, The Origin and Contents of the Sibylline Grades. Hippolyti Romani quæ feruntur omnia græce. Ex recognitione P. A. de Lagarde, pp. 216. W. Preger, Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his Times, part 1. C. F. T. Schneider, Compendium of Ancient Church History; first division—the First Three Centuries. J. N. P. Oischinger, The Speculative Theology of Thomas Aquinas, pp. 352. Werner, The Doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, vol. i. pp. 726.

Philosophy.—K. Rosenkranz, Science of the Logical Idea. A. Schwegler, History of Greek Philosophy, edited by C. Köstlin, pp. 271. I. H. Fichte, On the Question about the Soul; a Philosophical Confession, pp. 287. Th. Waitz, The Unity of the Human Race, and the State of Nature, pp. 487. J. Sengler (Rom. Cath.), What is it to Know? vol. i. pp. 656. M. Wolff, The Philosophy of Philo, 2d edition. Em. Feuerlein, Philosophical Ethics in its Chief Historical Forms; Second Part, the Later Civilized Nations, pp. 334.

Philology.—C. Spiegel, Avesta, the Sacred Writings of the Parsi translated, vol. ii., with four tables, pp. 222. G. Curtius, Outlines of Greek Etymology, Part 1, pp. 357. A. F. Pott, Etymological Researches upon the Indo-Germanic Languages. Second edition, wholly recast; Part 1. pp. 859.

FRANCE.

The *New Historical Dictionary of the French Language* by the Academy, has provoked a variety of criticisms. M. Ludovic Lalanne, in the *Correspondance Littéraire*, makes an elaborate calculation of the time it will take to complete it on the present scale and rate of progress. The only *fasciculus* of this edition as yet published, has 368 pages, 4to., and comes down to the word *Abusivement*. The previous edition reached the same word at its 13th page, and contained in all, 1,872 pages. We have then, in this *fasciculus*, only the one hundred and forty-fourth part of the whole

work, which, in the same proportion, would make 56 vols. of 900 pages each. Still further, this work was begun 23 years ago; if the other parts proceed in the same ratio of time, it will take 3,289 years to complete it; the generations living A. D. 5147 will see the end of the letter Z; that is to say, running the time back instead of forward, if the first part of the Dictionary had appeared in the reign of Minos, we should now have the last part. The previous editions of the Academy were issued respectively, A. D. 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1798, 1835. The commission having charge of the present work, is composed of MM. Pongerville, Cousin, Patin, Sainte Beuve, Viennet, Ampère, and Villemain, perpetual secretary. He ought to be perpetual if he is to see the end of this *ouvrage*.

The French Institute have elected the eminent Hebraist, Solomon Munck, a member of the Academy. For many years he has been almost blind, and yet has produced learned works, particularly on the Cabbalistic Speculations.

M. Renan, whose history of the Semitic languages has obtained a high reputation, has published in the Memoirs of the Academy, and separately, a treatise on the Origin and Real Character of the Phenician History, bearing the name of Sanchoniathon.

The *Revue Archéologique* gives translations of a famous hieroglyphic inscription, that of Ibsampoul, by two learned Egyptologists, Chablas and Lenormant, which are so totally different as to indicate that entire confidence cannot yet be given to the results of these antiquarian researches. They run thus:

LENORMANT.

THIS is the word of the two shepherds, the word which they spake to his Majesty: "A multitude is the Scheto, he hastens to oppose the command of his Majesty, for he has no fear of his soldiers. . . . The suffocating immobility of fear was in Ete-ch, that miserable city. They invoke his Majesty, whose severity they know, so that they may despoil him of their treasures.

CHABLAS.

THIS is that which the two S'ason have said: the words spoken by them to the king were a feint. The H'ita had sent them to find out what the King was doing, so as to prevent the army of his Majesty from embarking to attack the H'ita. . . . He was in ambuscade behind Vietes, the culpable city. The King knew not of it. The King was installed upon his throne of gold.

M. Didot frères have commenced the publication of a charming Elzevir edition of the classic writers of ancient and modern times, in small 18mo., with engravings, the pages surrounded with red lines, on the best of paper. Horace and Virgil have been issued; Dante, Petrarch, Racine, Montaigne, and others, will follow.

The death of M. De Tocqueville has been prematurely announced. He

descends, in the third degree, from the moralist Malesherbes, was born at Verneuil, July 29, 1805, and educated for the legal profession. In 1829 he visited the United States with De Beaumont, to study our penitentiary system. His work on Democracy in America was the chief fruit of this visit, and it has ever since held the front rank among the European attempts to expound our social and civil life in its principles. It was honored in 1836 with the prize of the French Academy. After the Coup d'État of 1851 he withdrew from public affairs. The first part of his treatise on the Ancient Régime and the Revolution was issued in 1856, and at once translated and republished in England and this country.

Mr. J. L. Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic is translated under the auspices of M. Guizot.

The fourth volume of the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, edited by D. J. B. Pitra, is published, containing monuments of the African and the Byzantine church.

The study of the works of Thomas Aquinas is revived in both France and Germany. Ob. Jourdain has published an essay in two vols., on the Philosophy of Aquinas; Abbé Cacheux, a work on the same subject; and Feugeray an essay on the Political Theories of Aquinas, which the French *Atheneum* declares to be the best French monograph on the Middle Ages. Two works on his Philosophy have also just been published in Germany.

The great German Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Roman Catholic Theology, by Wetzer and Welte, is to be translated and published in Paris, edited by I. Goshler, in 25 vols. A Dictionary of Catholic Bibliography, Greek, Latin and French, by F. Pérennès, is announced, in five volumes; the first is issued; M. Brunet will add a Dictionary of Bibliology. The New General Biography, published by Didot, comes down to Koegler in its 27th vol.

Father Ventura de Raulica, the eloquent court preacher, has published an Essay on Public Power, or Exposition of the Natural Laws of Social Order, with reference to the Italian question, advocating the purchase of Lombardy from Austria, and the formation of an Italian Confederation, with the Pope at the head of it.

Historical and Biographical Works.—The third volume of the History of Parliamentary Government in France, 1814–48, with an Introduction by M. Duvergier de Hauranne. E. Lavasseur, History of the Working Classes in France, from the Conquest of Julius Cesar to the Revolution; 2 vols., crowned by the Academy. The 15th vol. of Henri Martin's History of France, comes down to 1763. Hippolyte Castilla, History of Six Years, from 1788; vol. i. to July 22, 1792. Avenel's Letters of Richelieu, vol. iii. L. Blanc, History of French Revolution, vol. x. Guizot's new volume on the Revolution of England, is a series of political portraits—Warwick, Fairfax, Clarendon, Burnet and others. D'Haussonville, History of the Reunion of Lorraine with France, vol. iv. De Barante, History of Joan of Arc. Amédée Gabourd, History of France, vol. xii. 1603–1643. Bonne-

chose, History of England, vol. iii. and iv. E. Veuillot, Cochín China and Tonquin: its History and Missions.

Theology and Church History.—The Roman Church in Face of the Revolution, by J. Crétineau Joly, from unedited documents; 2 vols. Abbé Frepel, The Apostolic Fathers and their Epoch. E. Bourret, Essay on the French Sermons of Gerson, pp. 184. J. Cognat, Clement of Alexandria, his Doctrine and Polemics, pp. 510. Hippolyte Blanc, On the Inspiration of the Camisards, with a Letter to the author by Ventura de Raulica. The works of A. F. Ozanam on the Frank Church, etc., are republished in 6 vols. J. F. A. Peyré, History of the First Crusade, 2 vols. 8vo. Ed. Laboulaye, on Religious Liberty, 2d edition. Ernest Renau, Book of Job translated; on the Age and Character of the Poem. Baron Henrion's Ecclesiastical History, vol. xiv. to the death of Theodosius the Great. The 22d vol. of the 3d edition of Rohrbacher's Universal History of the Catholic Church.

Philosophy.—M. Nourrison, Tableau of the Progress of Thought, from Thales to Leibnitz, pp. 526. Jules Simon, Liberty, 2 vols. Chas. Renouvier, Essays on Man, Reason, Passion, Liberty, Moral Probability. J. Lesfautis, Esthetic Essays. Gatién-Arnoult, Professor at Toulouse, History of Philosophy in France, vol. i. Gaulic Period. Th. Funck, Philosophy and Laws of History. P. Janet, History of Moral and Political Philosophy, 2 vols.

Literature.—Gerussez, History of French Literature, 1789–1800. A. Nettelement, History of French Literature under the Government of July, 2 vols. O. L. Chassin, Edgar Quinet, his Life and Works. The Lusiad of Camoens, translated by Emile Albert.

GREAT BRITAIN.

N. Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A classed list of Books published in the United States of America, from 1817 to 1857, with Bibliographical Introduction, Notes, and Alphabetical Index. Pp. 750, 8vo. 18s.

Memoirs of Libraries; including a Practical Hand-Book of Library Economy, by Edward Edwards. 2 vols. The first part gives the History, and the second the Economy of Libraries.

The members of the new Catholic University of Ireland have begun the publication of a periodical, *The Atlantis*: Register of Literature and Science.

Robert P. Smith has edited from the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, Commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria to the Gospel of Luke.

In the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, for January, are articles on the Franks and their Metropolitans; on the Chinese, from the Christian Examiner of Boston; on John xvii.; on the Exegesis of Job; and on Babylon and its Priest Kings, by Dr. Hinks. The latter Essay is an attempt to show that Babylon was not governed by kings, but by priests enthroned: and he carries out this view in its bearings on the Babylon of the Apocalypse and papal Rome. He complains of the illiberality shown in the refusal to give him access to the inscriptions most important for his object.

The second volume of Sir Alexander Grant's valuable work on Aristotle's Ethics has been published; a third will complete the work. An article upon it will appear in the next number of our Review.

Bentley's Quarterly, No. 1, has the following articles: English Parties and English Politics. The Currency and the Last Crisis. The Religious Future of India. Russian Civilization. Austrian Italy. Gladstone's Homeric Stories. Horace Walpole. Sir Bulwer Lytton's Novels. The New Oxford Examinations. Art in England. Neither the editor nor writers are known.

The second part of Mr. Darling's invaluable *Encyclopædia Bibliographica* is announced. Subjects: Holy Scriptures; an Index to Works, Essays, Sermons, Criticism on Books and Texts of Scripture; with a Catalogue of Commentaries, etc. Price, £1 10s.

A letter from Rome states, that "on the recommendation of Lord John Russell, M. Panizzi came out here last September to secure for the trustees of the British Museum copies of all the despatches of Francesco Terriesi, Tuscan envoy in England during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. These papers already extended to ten large folio volumes; but the industry of the Chevalier Bonani, the learned superintendent of the Tuscan archives, has now hunted up many most important and valuable documents, not found in the two series, either that of the regular official despatches or of the private letters of the envoy to his master, the Grand Duke Cosmo III."

An entirely new General Atlas is to be published by Alexander Keith Johnson; 10 parts at 10s. 6d. each, at intervals of two months, beginning with March.

The authorship of the *Vestiges of Creation* is still a mystery. The Critic recently ascribed it very positively to the late George Combe; but this has been as emphatically denied.

Henry Hallam died January 22, 1859; he was born in 1778. He has long held the highest rank in England as an historical critic. Besides his contributions to the Edinburgh and other reviews, his chief works are, *The Constitutional History of England*, 1827. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, 1818, now in its 12th edition. *Introduction to the Literary History of Europe during the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries*.

Theology.—Isaac Taylor, *Logic in Theology*, and other Essays. The first Essay is a republication of Taylor's Introductory Essay on Edwards on the Will, reprinted separately some 25 years since in this country.

Among the other Essays in this volume is one on Unitarianism. The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, edited by Rev. A. Napier for the Cambridge University press, 9 vols. Paton J. Gloag, *The Primeval World: or the Relations of Geology to Theology*, pp. 202, Edinburgh. Rev. G. F. Macleár, *The Cross and the Nations; the Adaptation of Christianity to the Human Mind, etc.*, being the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1857. E. Bickersteth, *The Rock of Ages: or, Scripture Testimony to the one Eternal Godhead of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost*.

Biblical Literature.—C. J. Ellicott on Galatians, 2d edition. Dean Alford, Homilies on Acts, i.-x., pp. 389. Dav. Macbride, Lectures on the Acts and the Epistles, pp. 401. De Burgh, Commentary on the Psalms, parts 2 and 3, Dublin. W. Hewson, *The Oblation and Temple of Ezekiel's Vision*, 4s. R. C. Trench, *Notes on New Testament*, 2d edition, 7s. C. W. M. Van de Velde, *Map of the Holy Land*, 8 sheets, 21s.; *Plan of Jerusalem*, with Dr. Tiber's Measurements, 10s. 6d.; and a Memoir to accompany the Map, 8s. 6d.

Church History.—C. A. Heurtley, Prof. Oxford, *Harmonia Symbolica*, Collection of Creeds of the Ancient Western and Mediæval Church. A. Turner, *The Scottish Secession of 1843; the Principles and Narrative of the Contest*. J. M. Neale, *Liturgies of St. Mark, Clement, Chrysostom, Basil, etc.*, pp. 180. Rev. Thos. Lathbury, *History of Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 454. The fifth edition of Mrs. Schimmelpenninck's *Select Memoirs of Port Royal*, in 3 vols. A new edition of Southey's *Life of Wesley and Progress of Methodism*, 2 vols. The eighth edition of W. F. Hook's *Church Dictionary*, 16s. Neander's *History of Doctrines*, translated by J. E. Ryland, is published in two vols. in Bohn's Library.

General History.—The third volume of the English translation by C. H. Cottrel of C. C. J. Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, with its imaginative chronology. Jas. White, *History of France*, from the earliest times; a single volume, to be republished in America. R. T. Massy, *Analytical Ethnology: or the Mixed Tribes of Great Britain and Ireland examined, etc.*, new edition, 5s. The second volume of J. W. Rosse's *Index of Dates*, published in Bohn's Library, to accompany his edition of Blair's *Chronological Tables*; the two works together made a most useful manual. Dr. Vaughan is about to publish a work on *Revolutions in English History*; the first volume will be on the *Revolutions of Race*.

Philosophy.—Sir William Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics*; Mansel's *Bampton Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought*; both republished in Boston. Rev. Geo. Jamieson, *The Essentials of Philosophy*; with *Strictures on some of the leading Philosophers*, pp. 272, Edinburgh. H. T. Colebrooke's *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, have been collected in one vol., price 10s. 6d. J. Stuart Mills, *On Liberty, an Essay*; and *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*.

Works on Missions.—Fiji and the Fijians. Vol. 1. *The Islands and their Inhabitants*, by Thomas Williams, late Missionary in Fiji. Vol. ii. *Mission*

History, by James Calvert, late Missionary in Fiji, edited by G. S. Rowe, London, 1858. Caffres and the Caffre Mission, by the Rev. H. Calderwood, London. God's Voice from China to the British Churches, both Established and Unestablished, by J. A. James, London. England and India; an Essay on the Duty of Englishmen toward the Hindoos, by Baptist W. Noel, London, 1859. William Swainson, New Zealand and its Colonization, London. J. C. Marshman, The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, embracing the History of the Serampore Mission, 2 vols. 8vo., London, and reprinted by Sheldon & Co. The Gospel in Burmah, by Mrs. Macleod Wylie. G. F. Maclear, The Christian Statesman and our Indian Empire; an Essay which obtained the Maitland Prize for 1858, post 8vo. Three Visits to Madagascar, 1853-6, by Rev. William Ellis.

THE UNITED STATES.

Brownson's Quarterly Review.—This Review commands attention from the ability of its editor, and from its position as the only quarterly Roman Catholic periodical in the United States. It discusses philosophical and political questions with great freedom and earnestness, though always in the interest of, and in subserviency to the ultramontane principles, which it zealously espouses. But, even as a Roman Catholic, Mr. Brownson uses great freedom of speech. He is now earnestly contending for American in opposition to a foreign Catholicity. In the April number of his Review there is the following statement about the position of England, which one might think written by a capital Protestant. Speaking of the prospects of Europe in the impending struggles, the Review says:—"The only ground for hope is in Great Britain, who as yet retains something of her old Germanic and Catholic constitution, and in civil liberty and material civilization may be said to stand at the head of the modern world. Her progress in all the elements of material strength, and the extraordinary energy she has displayed in war and diplomacy, prove that her constitution is still sound and vigorous, and that she is, as to this world, the most living and robust nation now on earth. The greater, the more numerous, and the more complicated the difficulties she has to contend with, the more strength and energy she puts forth, and the more easily does she appear to surmount them. Hardly come out from the Crimean war, she finds herself involved in a new war with Persia, soon with China, and then forced to suppress a rebellion in India, and reconquer an empire of a hundred and eighty millions of souls. Yet during all this time she has in no instance lowered her tone, or abated a point in her diplomacy." "One of the oldest nations in Europe, her face is unwrinkled, and there is not a grey hair in her head." And has Protestantism nothing to do with this? In the "Conversations of

our Club," too, one of the chief speakers advocates the position, that "in the war between the Empire and the Church in the middle ages, the German Kaisers struggled to revive the Roman and the Popes to restore the German order;" and that "the British race in Great Britain, the United States, and the British colonies represent the system of civilization the most consonant to Catholicity, and the only real, living, progressive civilization of the age." The latter point we grant: but as to its consonance with Catholicity, it is somewhat surprising that this has hitherto never been found out, either by the civilization or by the Catholicism.

The *American Quarterly Church Review*, published at New Haven, Ct., in its April number has a review of a Discourse of President Hopkins, of Williams College, delivered four years ago, in Boston, before the Congregational Library Association. The courteous reviewer says "unqualifiedly," "weighing well his words," "that in an equal space—we have never seen a greater number of reckless statements and uncharitable insinuations, or a more unhappy illustration of its title, of 'man's perversion!'" The "Puritan stand-point" of the Discourse is characterized as "distressingly narrow, offering a very limited prospect, hedged in all around by denuded hills and barren mountains of bigotry, prejudice, and superciliousness." Can such an appeal to the "idols of the tribe" add force to the Episcopal cause? Nor are the arguments of the *Review* much more convincing than its invectives. Clement, it is said, taught the existence of the three orders, because he speaks of apostles, presbyters (bishops), and deacons. What this has to do with the matter we cannot conceive. Polycarp, it is claimed, teaches the same—because Ignatius does. The writer "is constrained" to ask why Dr. Hopkins does not quote "the blessed Ignatius;" and yet he cannot be ignorant of the critical doubts as to large portions of the Ignatian Epistles. The weighty testimony of Jerome about the origin of the episcopate, that it was appointed in consequence of "contentions that arose through the instigation of the devil," is attempted to be set aside by the unproved assertion that Jerome is speaking of occurrences "during the lifetime of St. Paul." But we cannot follow out the argument in detail. It does not contain anything to justify the sweeping charge of recklessness" and "uncharitableness" with which it is prefaced.

Such an attack on Dr. Hopkins is wholly uncalled for. He is too well known, and too highly honored, to be affected by it. Less than almost any public man is he justly exposed to such accusations. And this Discourse, too, was delivered four years ago. What is said of Episcopacy in it is only incidental to an elaborate argument upon Marriage, Civil Government and the Church, to show what have been "God's provisions," and what "man's perversions of these sacred institutions." The parallel between the nature of the provisions, and the method of the perversions, in each of them, is admirably carried out. The subject of prelacy comes in, as it should, only incidentally.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, the Professor at the Breakfast Table

fairly throws off the mask. He entertains himself in a style of easy levity, with jibes and sarcasms, which are meant to be very subtle and pointed. Each inuendo shows not only his contempt for orthodoxy, but also his ignorance of it. It may be easy work for him to refute the convenient divinity student whom he has conjured up for the occasion; it will not be so easy for him to satisfy the Christian public that the *Atlantic Monthly*, any more than a lyceum lecture, is a suitable place for such envenomed witticisms. If it is, let us know it by all means. If the publishers of that magazine intend to make it a vehicle for outraging the convictions of a large proportion of its readers—the sooner this is understood the better. Such things are not to be met by argument; for there is no argument to be replied to, it is a series of sneers. We have no objection to the fullest and fairest discussion of any point of orthodoxy; we concede to others the right to express their convictions, political and religious; we also claim this right for ourselves. But a literary journal is no place for such scoffing, unless its conductors mean to make it an anti-orthodox miscellany. If they do this they may soon find its circulation largely decreasing among those who have purchased it under the impression that it was “devoted to Literature, Art and Politics.” So undisguised has been this last attack that some of our secular journals have spoken out against it. From the *Courier and Enquirer*, of New York, we make a few pertinent extracts: “We have somewhere read that it was once the favorite style of poisoning in Italy—Dr. Holmes, doubtless, might instruct us on this point—to do it by a choice perfume, medicated gloves, a medicinal gum, or in some such captivating way.” “They understood these things in the modern Athens. The *Atlantic Monthly* makes a regular trade of it. It keeps a Professor at the Breakfast Table—so called—whose sole business seems to be to qualify with just the right *quantum* of poison, every honey-jar from Hybla.” “So far as regards the writer himself, there is little real strength in him. He belongs to the breed of men so well described by Carlyle, in his essay on Voltaire, as the *persifleurs*. He has a similar vivacity of intellect, a similar levity of temperament, and many loosely floating elements of goodness in his heart; yet essentially a mocker, light, fitful, discontinuous, carrying a knowing air of philosophic insight, and able to penetrate the surface of human life with the sharpest glance, but beyond that powerless.”

Professor J. J. Owen, D.D., of the New York Free Academy, has just published the second volume of his valuable commentary on the New Testament, upon the Gospel of Luke.

The article on Jonathan Edwards, the elder, in the forthcoming volume of the New American Cyclopædia, is by the Hon. George Bancroft, who has made the works and life of the great New England divine an object of special study.

Works in Systematic Theology.—Albert Barnes, on the Atonement. A new edition of Jenkyn, on the Extent of the Atonement. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., of the German Reformed Church, Infant Salvation in its

Relation to Infant Depravity, Regeneration and Baptism. Two new editions of Pascal's Thoughts are announced. N. W. Taylor, Lectures on the Moral Government of God, 2 vols. Alvah Hovey, D.D., The State of the Impenitent Dead.

Biblical Theology.—A new edition of Winer's New Testament Idiom, translated; vol. i. P. Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual, republished.

Church History.—E. T. Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Dutch Church. F. W. Evans, The Shakers.

Philosophy.—Simeon Nash, Morality and the State, Columbus, O. Christian Morals, by James Challen, Phil. Reprints of Mr. Thomson's excellent Outlines of the Necessary Laws of Thought; of Hamilton's Metaphysics; and Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought.

Criticism of Books.

THEOLOGY.

Leirbuch des christlichen Glaubens von Dr. AUGUST HAHN. *Zweite durchaus verbesserte Auflage. Zwei Theile.* 8vo. Leipzig, 1857-8. In 1827, Dr. Hahn was called from the University of Königsberg to that of Leipsic. He entered upon his new post with the publication of a dissertation, *De Rationalismi vera Indole*, maintaining the thesis, that rationalism was a form of naturalism. The same year he defended this position in a Public Declaration to the Evangelical clergy of Saxony and Prussia. The first edition of his "Text-book of the Christian Faith" was issued in 1828; the second edition, enlarged and improved, is just completed. In 1843 the venerable author was appointed General Superintendent of the province of Silesia. In 1847, appeared his "Confessions of the Evangelical Church, and the Ordination Vows of its Ministers: an appeal in behalf of the Augsburg Confession." In 1853 he expounded the "Confession in its relations to the Roman and Greek Systems of Doctrine;" a valuable work in comparative theology. A generation has passed away; Dr. Hahn, remaining firm in his principles, has seen the battle with rationalism fought and won; the cause for which he suffered reproach, is now defended by men who then stood aloof, or joined in the outcry against him; and many, too, have gone far beyond the type of orthodoxy, which he so ably defends, and are contending for the exclusive faith of a revived ultra-Lutheranism, which is almost as zealous against Calvinism as it is against Romanism. Dr. Hahn, while avowing himself a Lutheran, and more distinctively such than when his work was first published, avoids such excesses.

In the Preface, he gives some insight into his spiritual experience. "The result of my university studies, 1810-4, was the loss of my early religious faith, and of that peace which it had given me in bitter trials. But this result, and the terrible experience of it in my own heart and life, awakened an inextinguishable thirst for the peace that had fled. I sought it again, and, through the grace of God, found it, while connected with the Seminary for Preachers, at Wittenberg. My faith was confirmed, purified and enlarged by communion with those friends at Königsberg, whom I can never forget. With the elevated feelings of a man blessed in the possession of the faith, I openly avowed it at Leipsic in the circle in which God had placed me; and also in the first edition of this Text-book, imperfectly indeed, but truly."

This Text-book, in the Introduction, discusses the Nature of Religion and of Theology, and the Holy Scriptures as the Source of Christian Doctrine. The body of the work is distributed into Four Parts: the First, the Doctrine respecting God; the Second, Anthropology; the Third, Soteriology; the Fourth, the Church. Under this four-fold division all of the doctrines are stated and discussed with clearness and thoroughness. Besides the Biblical evidence for the truth, the statements of the chief Confessions are also given; and each doctrine is accompanied with a sketch of its history. Considerable attention is bestowed upon the later views of German theologians of the different schools. Thus this manual is very complete as to matter. In the same compass, it would not be easy to find a fuller view of the different shades of opinion. The style is lucid, though the sentences are often long drawn out. The work is also valuable to the student, for its full reference to the literature of the topics.

Dr. Hahn's exposition of the Trinity, is a good specimen of his method. It occupies 75 pages, under the heads, Biblical Proof, Divinity of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, Relation of the Three Persons to each other, the Church Doctrine, History of the Doctrine, Attempts at Philosophical Proof, Traces of the Trinity outside of the Scriptures. The doctrine he represents as "completing the Old Testament monotheism, or rather, disclosing its living depths; and it also meets that spiritual necessity, which is revealed in all the forms of polytheism, but satisfied by none of them. When this doctrine is not known, or not understood, men either imagine an *eternal matter*, in the shaping of which the gods have busied themselves from eternity (the *Hylozoism* of the Greeks, Romans, and other nations), or feign that the world proceeds in eternal evolutions from the essence of God, as its substantial ground (*Emanationism* in manifold forms up to its extreme in the pantheistic idealism), or else are obliged to conceive of the eternal God before creation as quiescent, an absolute power without activity, the author of all life without life of its own (artificial *Judaism* and naturalistic *deism*). The Christian doctrine of the Trinity, therefore, is necessary to the complete idea of God, and hence it was called η *θεολογία* in a special sense by the great teachers of the old church; it is a mystery, as is the divine essence, but a necessary article of our faith, as are all the other mysteries that have their ground in the Word of God." "From this it follows, that the ordinary objections of anti-Trinitarians, from the most ancient times to our own, have proceeded from a misunderstanding of the Biblical and Church doctrine; and these misinterpretations have respect, in part to the *persons*, and in part to the *personal acts*. The former have been understood as if they were like three different human persons, with each a separate essence, or parts of a whole; while the church, Reformed as well as Catholic, has taught, in accordance with the Scripture, that the essence of God being absolutely spiritual, cannot be divided. The *personal acts*, too, *generation*, and *procession*, are not to be compared with the individual acts of finite beings, separated in space, as the earthly sense of the

opponents of the doctrine represents them; but they are the essential, living expression of the absolutely perfect spirit from eternity to eternity. To designate them, human language has no more fitting word than *person*." The attempts at speculative constructions of the Trinity, by comparison with the nature and powers of the human spirit, are declared to be "for the most part unsuccessful, and to lead to the revival of old errors, most frequently to *modalism* and *tritheism*, and thus as opposite to Scripture, and as unsatisfactory as *subordinationism*, which in fact is only a return to heathen polytheism."

With some of the opinions expressed in these volumes, e.g. the object of Christ's descent to Hades, and the Lutheran view of the Person of Christ, we cannot agree. The work, in its present revised form, is a valuable addition to the manuals of systematic theology.

The Whole Works of ROBERT LEIGHTON, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow. To which is prefixed, a Life of the Author, by John Norman Pearson, M.A. With a Table of the Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects compiled expressly for this edition. Pp. 800. 8vo. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. This is a reprint of the New York edition of 1844, the most complete edition of Leighton's works. An Appendix gives additional memorials and letters from the biography of James Aikman. This work should be in the library of every minister of the Gospel. No better example can be found of expository preaching, now so much neglected and so much needed, than the admirable commentary upon the First Epistle of Peter. Thoroughly attached to the distinctive Reformed theology, Leighton always presented it in a Biblical form. His character, too, will profit whoever may study it. It was a holy and peaceful life in the midst of party strife. No man of his age takes so deep hold of the inmost life of the Christian, a life hid with Christ in God. Of his preaching, Burnet says, it "had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity was such, that few heard him without a sensible emotion. I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine, but there was a majesty and beauty in it, that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermon I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he seemed to look upon himself as so ordinary a preacher that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others; and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand." Herein, too, is a useful lesson for our times. Leighton's Rules and Instructions for a Holy Life may still be pondered with profit. "The sum is: 1. Remember always the presence of God. 2. Rejoice always in the will of God. And, 3. Direct all to the glory of God."

Wharton's Theism and Scepticism.—J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadel-

phia, have just published in a 12mo. volume of 395 pages, *A Treatise on Theism and on the Modern Sceptical Theories*, by Francis Wharton, Professor in Kenyon College, Ohio, and author of several legal works. The First Book is on the Evidence of the Existence and Character of God, in eight chapters, giving the arguments from Conscience, from Mind, from the Existence of Law in the Universe, from Matter, from Design in Nature, from the Progress of Society, from Geology, with a discussion of God's Relations to Man as determined by Natural Theology. The Second Book examines the Sceptical Theories: viz. "An Imperfect Creator," Positivism, Fatalism, Pantheism, and Development.

This is a wide range of topics entering into the heart of the great conflicts of the day. They are presented in a clear arrangement, and with an unusual amount of popular illustration. The work is thus adapted to interest many minds, who are just beginning to inquire or to doubt, and to arrest their earnest attention. The illustrations are chiefly derived from facts and materials relating to our own country. The argument from Conscience for the existence and attributes of God is very well handled, deducing from the functions of conscience the existence of God as a law-giver, and "as an unconditioned Executive, punishing the violators of his law;" conscience, being in its action "incessant," "unconditioned by time," "unconditioned by matter," etc. The proofs of the Being of God, from the various sciences, are well selected and impressive. The whole argument from Natural Theology is made to culminate in the position,—as the only one which will reconcile the apparent contradictions,—that man is in a state of exile from God, that there is a future retribution, and need of special Divine aid. In the chapter on "An Imperfect Creator," the Necessitarian and "Libertarian" views are stated, with citations from the most recent works, as those of McCosh, Bledsoe, Hickok, and Bushnell, with an evident desire to avoid any extreme position, and to allow its validity to each part of the complex truth involved. In the chapter on Positivism, forcible objections are urged not only against M. Comte, but also against the positions in Mr. Buckle's recent work. Pantheism is examined, not so much in the light of its speculative basis as in that of its practical consequences. The concluding chapter on Development is a forcible exhibition of the inconsistency of this theory with the facts of science. The whole work is well fitted to its main object, of putting into the hands of students a convenient arrangement of the subjects, and heads of thought and argument. Neither the plan of the author, nor the limits of the work, allowed a full investigation of the underlying metaphysical and theological inquiries.

Five valuable Discourses on the *Atonement* have just been published by the American Tract Society, reprinted from the English edition. The first by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Chs. Baring) is the present

incumbent), on "Christ's Death as a Propitiatory Sacrifice," a plain, Scriptural exhibition of this truth. Next came Dr. Chalmers' cogent sermon on the "Power of the Gospel to dissolve the Enmity of the Heart against God." This is followed by William Archer Butler's eloquent discourse on "Christ Sought and Found in the Old Testament Scriptures." It contains such turns of thoughts as these: "You may deny the story of the miracles, but can you destroy the miracle of the story? You may discredit this volume of miracles, for the Spirit of God does not now descend to silence its gainsayers; but can you *unmiracle* the obstinate fact of the volume itself?" Of the light cast by Christ at his coming upon the Old Testament, it is said, that when it "flashed back upon that strange story of four thousand years, every page sparkled with illumination, every sentence quickened with meaning;" . . . "yea, that body of the law and prophets rose, as it were, and ascended with its inspirer, Jesus, and unchanged yet wholly changed, was with him glorified." The two remaining Sermons are Robert Hall's argument on the "Substitution of the Innocent for the Guilty;" and John Maclaurin's memorable discourse on "Glorying in the Cross of Christ."

COMMENTARIES.

Lange's Bibelwerk.—Dr. J. P. Lange having completed his system of Doctrinal Theology in four volumes, is now engaged upon another important work, "The Theological and Homiletic Bible-Work," with special reference to the wants of ministers. It is intended to cover the whole Bible: three parts on the New Testament are out; on Matthew, Mark, and Luke. That on Matthew has 458 large octavo pages, double columns; that on Mark 173 pages: both of these are by Lange. The commentary on Luke is by J. J. Van Oosterzee of Rotterdam, and extends to 410 pages. Considering the amount of matter, the work is afforded at low rates. Matthew for \$1.25; Mark for 63 cents; Luke for \$1.25.

The plan of the work is novel and excellent. The Gospel of Matthew, *e.g.* is divided into seven parts: and these again subdivided; the heading of each section gives the main points of view in the interpretation. Each paragraph has some leading thought assigned to it. Then a revised translation follows; next, the exegetical explanation; then, the fundamental, doctrinal and christological ideas; and, lastly, homiletic hints. These last are managed with great skill, and must be eminently suggestive to the preacher in search of a topic. They consist not only of themes suggested by the author, but of topics derived from the texts by some of the most eminent interpreters and preachers. Sometimes, twenty or thirty themes are appended to a single paragraph. We select a few, almost at random,

from the interpretation of Matt. x. 34-39, "Think not that I am come to bring peace," etc. Among the Homiletic Hints appended are these: "The delusion that Christ is to bring a delusive peace to the delusions of the world.—Christ brings the sword in order to bring peace.—The sword of Christ, and the sword of the world; or, the bearing of the cross and the being nailed to the cross.—The battle of the Lord is better than the peace of the world.—The sword of the Lord is peace.—False love to our kindred is a covert self-love.—The first word of the Lord about the cross, calls us to share the cross with him.—Our nearest friends are often the greatest enemies of our blessedness.—He that loves himself inordinately hates himself.—Death for Christ's sake is life.—Christianity is a declaration of war against the world and a message of peace to the world (Heubner).—With Christ nothing is lost." Such suggestive hints are scattered through the volumes. It may be that the *schematizing* is now and then carried too far, and that the topics are occasionally rather fanciful than solid. But no minister can study the book without having his mind quickened. It avoids the fault, found in many homiletical treatises, of giving too full an outline; on the other hand, it also avoids the faults of some practical commentaries, in which the exposition runs out into a commonplace moralizing. The work has had a most favorable reception in Germany. The next volume promised is on the Epistles of Peter and Jude, by Dr. Frommüller.

Bunsen's Bibelwerk.—*Complete Bible Commentary for the Christian Church. In Three Parts.* By CHRISTIAN CARL JOSIAS BUNSEN.—The first volume of this work is before us. It contains a very full introduction, detailed chronological tables, and other preliminary matter, with a new translation of the Pentateuch. This translation is accompanied by foot-notes, and will, in future volumes, be extended over the entire Scriptures, forming the First Part of this extensive work. The Second Part will treat at length of the historical arrangement of the books, and the Third Part will be devoted to Bible History.

The name of Bunsen has become so well-known and so highly-esteemed in America that everything from his pen will be hailed as a contribution to an elevated Christian literature. We cannot, however, refrain from guarding our readers against his system of chronology, which draws most hasty conclusions from a sparse induction. A single example will suffice. The following is from his table:

B.C.

1320.—The Exodus.

1318.—Aaron dies.

1317.—Arrival in the country east of Jordan.

1299.—Moses dies.

1298.—Bashan subdued.

1281.—The Jordan crossed.

Now in Acts vii. 23, 29, we are told that Moses fled to Midian when 40 years old, and in the 30th verse that he lived there 40 years, and in the 36th verse that he was guide to Israel 40 years more. Hence, at the Exodus, Moses was 80 years of age, and 120 at his death (Deut. xxxiv. 7). Bunsen makes (as above) this last period of 40 years only 21 years! Again, in Deut. i. 8, 4, Moses is represented as addressing the children of Israel in the "fortieth year," and *after* the conquest of Bashan. That this fortieth year referred to their departure from Egypt is evident from Deut. ii. 14. Yet Bunsen asserts that Moses died 21 years after they left Egypt (!) and *before* they subdued Bashan (!). The dates for Aaron's death and for the arrival in Moab are equally absurd as given in Bunsen's tables. All this savors of that hasty judgment, which Bunsen evinced in founding a chronological extension of many thousand years in Egyptian civilization, upon an exhumed brick. But we leave the criticism of this point for another occasion, and now simply notice the plan of the work. In the first section of the Introduction, while the excellence of the principal Protestant translations is acknowledged, it is forcibly shown that the era of these translations preceded, by a century, the great developments of the materials for Biblical study. Herein is the great argument for a new translation. In the second section, the method of obtaining a more perfect, and hence safer, translation is exhibited. In the third section the value of the ancient and modern translations is canvassed, in which Bunsen inserts a very interesting chapter regarding the translation of the name of God. An appendix to a part of this section introduces thirty passages of comparison between Bunsen's translations and the received versions. The fourth section treats of the various forms of interpretation and their mutual relations, while the fifth and last section sketches the plan of the work. In this extended introduction there is much interesting and valuable information, presented in a clear and attractive style. We may expect, in the last great division of this work, a reproduction and application of the author's lofty view of "God in History;" the everlasting kingdom of God and the life of Jesus will there be the subjects of his discourse. The entire work will extend to eight volumes like the one before us. We append two extracts from his thirty examples of comparison between the author's new translation and other versions.

1.—Psalin lxxi. 14-16.

"But I will hope continually,
And increase all thy praise.
My mouth shall proclaim thy goodness,
Every day thy salvation;
For I know not their boundaries.

I will offer praise for the mighty deeds of the Lord, the Eternal,
I will extol thy goodness, thine alone."

The old Latin translation has here an incredible text, which Jerome

according to the Roman edition, retained in the second revision of it, for we have not the text of his own translation from the Hebrew in a perfectly authentic form, since the comparison with the Codex Amiantinus is still wanting. In the pre-Hieronymic translation it thus reads, in almost untranslatable nonsense, for the second clause of vs. 15 is taken as the beginning of a verse, and is joined with the first clause of vs. 16: "Quoniam non cognovi literaturam, Introibo in potentiam Domini." (Since I am not familiar with learning, I will enter into the might of the Lord.) According to Sabatier's text (taken from the old St. Germain manuscript) of Jerome's translation from the original, the verse runs, "Quia non cognovi literaturas, ingrediar in fortitudines Domini Dei; Recordabor justitiæ tuæ solius." Thus, in substance, the same! Luther did justice to the original and to common sense, although his translation is not altogether accurate and plain; "But I will ever hope and will increase thy praise. My mouth shall proclaim thy righteousness, daily thy salvation, which I cannot fully reckon. I go along in the power of the Lord God; I praise thy righteousness alone." The three Reformed Bibles (English, Dutch, and Genevese) have essentially the same as Luther.

2.—Heb. xi. 8. We close our selections with an important passage, which was falsely construed and explained by Luther and Calvin, and which even yet, although all the Reformed churches have restored its only allowable sense, stands with perplexing inexactitude in the Lutheran translation. Luther translated this verse, about the reading of which, except a slight unimportant grammatical form, there is no dispute, thus: "By faith we know, that the world was made by the word of God; that all which we see was created out of nothing." But the text, rightly constructed, runs thus: "By faith we know that the worlds were set in order by the word of God, so that what we see was not created out of apparent things." So too, for substance, the Reformed translations; and thus Meyer and Stier have amended it. Jerome, on the contrary, more falsely if possible than Luther, has thus translated this passage: "By faith we know that the worlds were arranged by God's word, so that the visible might come out of the invisible." Calvin came upon the idea, probably through a typographical error of the Complutensian Polyglot, of altering the text; he translated the last words profoundly and ingeniously as ever, yet in this case incorrectly—"so that the world may become a mirror of the invisible Godhead." Bunsen proceeds: "This example is peculiarly instructive, because we thus comprehend easily the blessing of an unfettered church constitution. Luther's errors have been held fast, nay, many expressions only casually thrown out by him, or held only as opinions of the schools, have been made leading dogmas by the clergy, often in spite of his unmistakeable intimations and solemn declarations. Why? Because the church, and consequently, the conscience of the church, has been wanting. Calvin's errors, nay, even many sharp and rugged formulas coined by him, have been overcome in the Reformed churches.

Why? Because in the Reformed countries the Christian people do not stand impotent before the clergy. Thus the Reformed churches felt themselves called upon and authorized in their totality to judge even regarding the personal opinions of the great and highly honored reformer, as soon as the truth of God's word was concerned. Paul's great saying (Rom. iii. 4), "Let God be true and all men liars," holds good, in relation to the word of God, about all human institutions and pretended infallibilities, which are nothing but idols. Wo to those who to all this will say with Pilate, "What is truth?" Wo to those who hinder the truth of God's word from being freely taught, preached, and heard; finally wo of woes to those who not only blaspheme the Son, but also the Spirit, regardless of the fearful word of the Lord (Mat. xii. 31), to their condemnation."

Eadie on the Epistle to the Philippians.—Robert Carter & Brothers have added this handsome volume to their valuable series of exegetical works. It is a commentary on the Greek text. The Introduction takes up 44 pages, and the interpretation, 297. Dr. John Eadie, professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, has obtained a high position as an expositor of Scripture by his previous exegetical works, on the epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians. Of the Ephesians a second revised edition is announced, and the author has in preparation a work on the epistle to the Galatians. The commentary upon the Philippians is an improvement upon his previous works; it is less diffuse, and has less extraneous matter, though it might be still more compressed. The Introduction presents a well-reasoned vindication of the genuineness of the epistle against the objections of Bauer and his school. The difficulties are fairly met, and the reply is conclusive. The date of the epistle is assigned to the autumn of A.D. 63 or the beginning of 64; Lardner, Wieseler and Davidson put it at 62. The exegetical part shows the author's thorough study of the literature of the epistle; all the chief commentaries are cited, and the different interpretations fairly weighed. There is a constant reference to the later English, based on the German speculations about the theology of Paul, and the pretence that this theology is merely subjective and local, is critically examined. The passage, ii. 6, is thus explained, p. 108. "The apostle affirms that Jesus, in His pre-incarnate state, was in the form of God; and adds, that He thought it not a seizure, or a thing to be snatched at, to be on a parity with God, but emptied himself. Now, it seems to us very plain that the parity referred to, is not parity in the abstract, or in anything found in the paragraph, but parity in the possession of this form of God. He was in the form of God, and did not think it a thing to be eagerly laid hold of to be equal with God in having or exhibiting this form." "He emptied himself" is referred to this "form." "He was not anxious to be ever on a parity with God in possessing it, and therefore he divested himself of it." "There was something which He coveted more—something which He felt to be

truly a ἀπαγαγός, and that was the redemption of a fallen world by His self-abasement and death." The doctrinal points connected with this "emptying" of himself, are but slightly noticed. So too, upon iii. 9, the rendering is adopted, "the righteousness which is of God on faith," or "upon faith;" "it is because this righteousness has faith for its ground, that faith became its instrument." "The sinner is not indeed held by any legal fiction to be innocent. The entire process implies his guilt, but he is no longer exposed to the penalty; he is held, or dealt with, as a righteous person—the external justice of Christ Jesus being imputed to him. This righteousness, divine in its origin, awful in its medium, and fraught with such results, was the essential element of Paul's religion, and the distinctive tenet of Paul's theology."

Alexander on Mark.—This Explanation of the Gospel according to Mark, by Prof. J. A. Alexander, of Princeton, is published by Mr. Scribner, in a convenient 12mo. volume of 444 pages. It is a very excellent work, fully equal, if not superior, to the author's other commentaries. It is so arranged that the mere English reader can reap its full advantages, while the scholar finds evidence of a thorough and minute study of the best exegetical helps. Dr. Alexander unites in a rare degree thorough scholarship with perspicuous statement of results. There is no superfluous rhetoric, and no easy moralising. The independent position here assigned to Mark's Gospel, is, we think, undoubtedly the true view; it has too long been handled as an abridgement of Matthew. Tholuck in his controversy with Strauss made a strong point in claiming for Mark a standing of his own. The Introduction has a lucid statement of the leading characteristics of this Gospel and an outline of its plan, verified in the subsequent exposition. In this exposition, a summary of its contents precedes each chapter, and each verse is explained in succession. Candor and breadth of view mark the interpretation. Different theories on disputed passages are fairly presented, and often the decision is left to the reader. Difficulties are not dogmatically resolved. Then on xiii. 32, as to the Son's ignorance of the day and hour, the difficulty is merely resolved, with Calvin, into the "whole mystery of godliness, or doctrine of the incarnation, which involves the coexistence of the finite and the infinite, of limitation and immensity, in one theanthropic person." His whole treatment of this chapter is marked by the same spirit. Some of our brethren would do well to study and imitate this scholarly care and reserve. To all whom it may concern, we commend an incidental statement about the first chapter of Genesis, on page 268. "This peculiar structure (that of Mark, in ix. 49,—'strophical,'—'essentially poetical,') is among the oldest forms of composition extant, being found in the first cosmogony of Moses, Gen. i. 1–ii. 3, which, for this and other reasons has been thought by some to be a relic of primeval composition, handed down, perhaps, from Adam, through a few interven-

ing links to Moses, and incorporated by him in his history, or placed before it as a still more ancient text or theme, but under the divine direction and the same unerring seal of inspiration."

CHURCH HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The History of Methodism.—Methodism has at length found its historian. Dr. Abel Stevens in the first volume of his projected History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism, comes down to the death of Whitefield. His object is to consider this movement in its denominational forms, and its relations to British and American Protestantism. The author has been favorably known by other works illustrating the history of his church; but the present volume takes a wider range, and claims a more general interest. It presents Methodism, not as the history of a sect, but as the fruit of a great religious awakening, and as the introduction of a new and powerful aggressive system. It is a kind of philosophy of Methodism. And the work does honor to the author and to his denomination. It is altogether the best work, and the most thorough, upon this subject, which has yet been published; that of Isaac Taylor, more philosophical in form, rests on less exact studies. A second volume will complete the History of British Methodism; two additional volumes will be devoted to the Methodist Episcopal Church to 1839. The work thus far shows careful research, and it has the advantage of the author's access to new and important documents. The proportions of the different parts of the narrative are well observed; the delineations of characters and events are clear; and there is a glow of earnestness and enthusiasm, and a vigorous march of the narrative, well befitting the story of such a wonderful work. The Wesley family; the character, spiritual education and conflicts of John and Charles Wesley; the life, career and eloquence of Whitefield; the early connexion of Methodism with Moravianism; many an incidental notice of lay-preachers; stirring accounts of the great field-days of these modern apostles; honorable mention of the evangelical persons in the established church who helped on the work; the itinerating in England, Scotland, Ireland and America; the gradual formation of the Methodist societies, polity and system of doctrinal belief; all these, and many other topics are fully presented in a compressed and vigorous narrative.

We, of course, differ in some respects widely from the author on questions of polity and of doctrine. Nor can we attribute the spiritual success and power of Methodism to those features of its polity and doctrinal system which seem to us imperfect. But at the same time we must praise the evident candor of Dr. Stevens in the discussion of these themes, which will

come out more fully in the subsequent volumes. This one concludes the English History with the minute on Calvinism by the Conference of 1772, which resulted in the great controversy on that subject. The last chapter gives the concluding scenes of Whitefield's life, and an estimate of the man who produced more marvellous effects than any modern preacher. "His last field triumph" was at Exeter, N. H.; he preached two hours to a vast audience at the close of six days of preaching, and went to Newburyport, where he died of an attack of asthma the next morning, Sept. 30th, 1770, "as the Sabbath sun was rising from the neighboring sea. The effulgence of the eternal day had risen upon his beneficent, his fervid, his consecrated life."

The volume is issued in handsome style by Carlton & Porter. The portrait of John Wesley looks as though it must be authentic; it is said to be the best.

The Pioneer Bishop; or the Life and Times of Francis Asbury, is published by the same house. It is by W. P. Strickland, with an introduction by Nathan Bangs, D. D. Bishop Asbury was born in England, Aug. 20, 1745: he came to this country as a missionary, in 1771; was ordained Bishop in 1784; and died near Fredericksburg, Va., March 31, 1816. He ordained over 3000 preachers, and preached 17,000 sermons. More than any single man he impressed his spirit upon the American Methodist Church. His life is the history of our early Methodism. And it is well told in this interesting volume, which is a fitting memorial of his shrewd sense, his earnest practical piety, his indefatigable labors and his organizing power. Though eminently a practical man, riding day and night, and attending all the Conferences, he yet found time to study Latin, Greek and Hebrew. There are occasional instances of old prejudices, in his reported sayings: New Haven is apostrophized as "thou seat of science and sin!" "At Middlebury we find college-craft and priest-craft!" Boston is famous "for poor religion and bad water!" Of the Confession of Faith and Assembly's Catechism, he says "they are calculated to convert the judgment and make the people systematical Christians." Edwards on the Affections, "excepting the small vein of Calvinism that runs through it, is a very good treatise, and worthy the serious attention of young professors of religion." Evidently, the good Bishop's forte was not in theology. But he arranged the Discipline of the church, founded the Book Concern, the Chartered Fund, the system of Methodist Missions, and the Sunday School system; and he saw the church which he here planted, survive the perils that threatened it at the time of the Revolution, and become a power in the land; at the time of his death numbering about 200,000, and now enrolling, North and South, nearly a million and a half of members. Wherever that church is planted the name of Asbury will be honored; and many in other churches may learn a useful lesson from the record of

his laborious and self-denying life, devoted to the service of our common Lord.

Palmy the Potter; or the Huguenot, Artist, and Martyr, by C. H. Brightwell, is published by the Methodist School Union. It is beautifully printed and illustrated, and makes a charming book for children, based on Mr. Morley's Life of this noble Huguenot. Lamartine calls him "the most perfect model of the workman. It is by his example rather than his works, that he has exercised an influence upon civilization, and that he has deserved a place for himself among the men who have ennobled humanity." He was a true original and enthusiast in his art, adorning his pottery with the most skilful designs. He was also noble in his fortitude and faith. The story of his life is well told, and every child will get good from it.

St. Augustine: A Biographical Memoir, by Rev. John Baillie, published by R. Carter & Brothers, is a popular account of the life of this greatest teacher of the Latin Church. His immortal Confessions are here modernised; but the old Saint, we fancy, is not quite at home with his modern "surroundings" of the poetry and maxims of the nineteenth century. By a strange error, Mr. Baillie ascribes to Neander the saying, "Pectus est quod theologum facit." The tale of Augustine's deep, spiritual experience is one that will be always impressive; and this little book is well adapted to bring it home to many hearts, who might otherwise not read it. It is the record of the most profound spiritual experience. It was this living experience of sin and of grace which shaped the theology of Augustine. This and the Scripture led him to say, "The contrast between the two Adams becomes more and more the central point of my faith. In the one, we are guilty and corrupt and undone; in the other, we are accepted and renewed and exalted."

SERMONS AND WORKS OF PRACTICAL PIETY.

Dr. Thomas Guthrie's *Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints* is a series of Discourses on Colossians i. 12-20, republished by Robert Carter & Brothers, in a 12mo. vol. of 344 pages. They are vivid and ardent presentations of the central truths of the Gospel. Dr. Guthrie excels in fervid descriptions. But his imagination and his impassioned feelings are kept in order by a solid and regulating faith. For the fullest impression, such sermons need the personal power of the sacred orator; but no one can read them without having his heart kindled. A volume of sermons of which eight thousand copies were called for the first week of its publication must address an immense audience.

Of a different stamp are the *Sermons* of Rev. John Caird, minister of Park Church, Glasgow, whose sermon before the Queen made his name famous. And deservedly so. The present volume, also published by the Carters, contains discourses thoroughly wrought out, and thought through. They appear at first sight less original than those of many a brilliant preacher; but in their tone and method, their subjects and the handling of them, they are truly original. We were not prepared to meet with evidence of so much power. They seem unstudied and simple; and they are simple, but not unstudied. There is a regular growth of thought in them up to the climax of appeal.

A fifth series of *Sermons*, preached and revised by Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, has been published by Sheldon & Co. New York. The secret of Spurgeon's power lies very much in the fact, that he comes right to you, face to face, and talks with you as a man talketh with his friend, and pleads with you in all the earnestness of personal importunity. And his power is seen in the fact, that he can thus talk to audiences of thousands, and talk to them all as if he was talking to each one. Nor this alone; he has continued to speak thus for years, and is as fresh and vital as ever. Let carping critics and *littérateurs* say what they may, this is a rare gift, as is seen in the fact that so few attain unto it. He conjoins in his preaching, too, the highest tone of orthodoxy with the utmost practical power of appeal and illustration; and this, too, is rare. It shows that the way to move great crowds thoroughly is not by abandoning the great doctrines of our faith; to interest men, they must indeed be addressed through their human sympathies and associations; any preacher who is striving chiefly to be popular will do this almost exclusively; but to rouse men thoroughly, to save them,—God, sin, the law and Christ must be set before them. Spurgeon does this always. We can pardon his familiarity, because it proceeds from a deep moral earnestness. He may at times offend a fastidious taste, but he guides many an inquiring soul to the Lamb of God. His *Sermons* are a proof that even the men of this generation do not prefer taste to piety, nor mere morality to the everlasting truths of the Gospel. This volume is equal to any of its predecessors in life, variety, and dramatic power.

The Sheepfold and the Common; or the Evangelical Rambler, is a republication, with adaptation to the present times, of a work published some thirty years since. Its object is to present, in a "dramatic" form, the evangelical system of belief in contrast especially with the High Church and the Arminian systems. The different contested points are introduced and discussed with a good degree of skill and great earnestness. The form of narration and dialogue adds an interest to themes, which otherwise might deter rather than attract the merely careless reader.

Partly as a specimen and record of the past, and partly too from the perpetual life of the great doctrines here unfolded, the work is worthy of republication. It is published by the Carters in a 12mo. vol. of 530 pages.

Mendip Annals, an 18mo. vol. of 253 pages, is from the same house. It is the Journal of Martha More; giving an account of the labors of Hannah More and herself, in their neighborhood; edited with additional matter by Arthur Roberts, rector of Woodrising, Norfolk. Any one who would learn to labor for the destitute and the abandoned, with faith and love, and patience, and success, may here find most useful lessons.

Christian Hope, by John Angell James, is a companion to his works on Faith and Charity, completing the view of the Christian virtues. Hope in its different relations is here described, in accordance with the Scriptural teachings, and with the calm wisdom and richness of spiritual experience that are characteristic of the author. The chapter on the Assurance of Hope avoids extreme statements. This work also has the imprint of the Carters.

The Precious Stones of the Heavenly Foundation, by Augusta Browne Garrett, is published by Sheldon & Co. The object of the book is to illustrate the passage of the Revelation, xxi. 14. "And this wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the name of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." In the 19th and 20th verses, to each of the foundations a stone is assigned, jasper, sapphire, etc. Each one of these precious stones has one of the twelve apostles connected with it in the allegorising interpretation, as, Peter and the jasper, which is further said to signify, divine mystery; Andrew and the sapphire, which means, heavenly mindedness; John and the emerald, which denotes refreshing light, etc. On this basis the work is constructed, the hidden sense of each stone being revealed, and the topics illustrated by appropriate religious reflections. Besides the author's own ingenious illustrations, there are many choice extracts in prose and verse. The work brings imagination to the aid of religious truth. It is issued in a handsome style.

Daily Thoughts for a Child, by Mrs. Thomas Geldart, is from the same publishers; a nice present for children, giving a verse and a story for each morning and evening of the month, with prayers and a few hymns. *The Mother's Gift to her Little Ones at Home*, published by Carlton & Porter, is an illustrated volume of simple talks about serious things, for young children. *Look Up, or Girls and Flowers*, is a pretty volume, from James

Challer & Sons; who are also the publishers of the *Pearl of Days*, by a Laborer's Daughter, designed to show the advantages of the Sabbath to the working classes.

HYMNOLOGY.

The Sabbath Hymn Book for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord. This book is prepared by the joint labors of Rev. E. A. Park, D.D., Rev. Austin Phillips, D.D., and Lowell Mason, LL.D., and published by Mason Brothers, New York. It contains 1290 hymns, including versions of psalms; 24 doxologies, and 58 selections for chanting; with indexes of subjects and of passages of Scripture. It is one of the largest Hymn Books ever published in this country, and the talents and labor employed in its preparation justly awaken high expectations respecting its value. In important respects these expectations will be justified by an examination of the work.

One of its excellences is, that it contains a large number of new hymns of an admirable character. This advantage is gained without the sacrifice of the best psalms and hymns already known in the churches. We have not room for quotation, but an examination will show that this element enters largely into the work and greatly increases its value.

The large number of selections for chanting will invite those who use the book to the exercise of one of the most pleasing forms of sacred song.

We are glad to notice some emendations of phraseology, as well as restorations to an earlier and better form of hymns which had been mutilated to meet the supposed necessities of the choir.

The question, how many Psalms may be omitted in a Hymn Book for the churches, is not to be answered by consulting the index, but by judging the work as a whole. The fact that the Psalms would not all be used if they were inserted may justify the omission of some of them; and if this be granted, the question of a selection is left to the wisdom and discretion of the editors; and an apparent innovation should be judged in a generous spirit. The true question, it may be said, is this, how far does the book in its whole contents furnish a devotional response to the sum and the variety of the divine teachings in the Scriptures? Or, putting the same question from another point of view, how far does it meet the wants of Christian experience? Yet the almost uniform practice in our hymnology has been to make a distinct division into Psalms and Hymns; and we are not yet prepared to vindicate such an entire departure from this arrangement as we find in this work.

We have noticed some things which, we think, detract from the value of the book.

Many of the new hymns are poor in thought and expression; not poor

in the general topics, or the subordinate thoughts regarded in themselves; but poor in the mode of presentation. It is not the mode of song. It is cold and artificial, and destitute of harmony, as if the author, conscientiously arousing himself from a listless, unprofitable mood, should say: "Go to, let us make a hymn;" and then should pick out the theme, and next the subordinate thoughts, and then should begin to write. Something like this would seem to have been the genesis of Hymn 707, "Mine and thine;" 925, "Go up;" 470, "Prayer to the Trinity." That these Hymns, and others which might be named, are poor in rhythm and poor in phraseology, is all right and fit, for before all this they have the prime fault that they are false to our emotions. Another hymn of a hard, artificial structure, is the 878th, "Go, labor on."

1. Go, labor on; spend and be spent,—
Thy joy to do the Father's will:
It is the way the Master went;
Should not the servant tread it still?
2. Go, labor on; 'tis not for naught;
Thine earthly loss is heavenly gain;
Men heed thee, love thee, praise thee not;
The Master praises,—what are men?
3. Go, labor on; enough, while here,
If he shall praise thee, if he deign
Thy willing heart to mark and cheer;
No toil for him shall be in vain.
4. Toil on, and in thy toil rejoice;
For toil comes rest, for exile home;
Soon shalt thou hear the Bridegroom's voice,
The midnight peal: "Behold, I come!"

In contrast with this, the 407th has the true flow of sacred song.

1. Sing of Jesus, sing forever,
Of the love that changes never;
Who or what from him can sever
Those he makes his own.
2. With his blood the Lord hath bought them;
When they knew him not, he sought them,
And from all their wanderings brought them;
His the praise alone.
3. Through the desert Jesus leads them,
With the bread of heaven he feeds them,
And through all the way he speeds them
To their home above.

4. There they see the Lord who bought them;
Him who came from heaven and sought them,
Him who by his Spirit taught them,
Him they serve and love.

We think the book would have been better if fewer changes had been made in concession to the claims of the choir. There is as yet only a partial emancipation from the bondage in which our hymnology has somewhat blindly served for many years past. If the Christian people pay promptly for countless editions of singing books, it seems no more than reasonable that the further infliction of having the poetry damaged should be abated.

The repetition of the first verse, at the close of the hymn seldom serves any other purpose than that of display on the part of the choir. Minute changes of phraseology, altering the accent so far as to make it conform to the musical accent, generally mar the hymn without a compensating advantage. An attempt to improve the logic of the hymn without catching its true spirit, has often yielded a worse result.

We think that in the book before us the Coronation Hymn has suffered in both the above named ways. In v. 3, the 2d line is thrown out, and instead of

"Ye ransomed from the fall,"

we read,

"A remnant weak and small."

"What of it?" the reader asks. What if they are "a remnant weak and small?" That fact has nothing to do with the spirit of the hymn, while the line thrown out to admit this ineptitude is simple, grand, and just in place. The thought is lost, and an iambus is gained.

We note a few other instances.

"With supreme, unbounded sway"

for

"With illimitable sway."

"Secure, insensible,"

instead of

"Yet how insensible."

By this change the turn of thought noted by the conjunction is lost, and what is worse, the word *secure* is used in a wrong sense.

"And tremble on the brink of fate,
And wake to righteousness,"

for

"And save me e'er it be too late;
Wake me to righteousness."

The heathenish tone of the first line, and the coldness of the whole, make, we think, too great a loss to be balanced by the gain of two iammbuses.

The close of Pope's *Messiah* has been cut down to a hymn in long metre. A strain so unique, unapproached in the whole range of English poetry, should have been allowed to remain without change. The hymn may be good, but for those who have the original in memory it will fail of its due effect, and the inevitable comparison will make it hardly better than a parody.

We copy one or two stanzas in illustration: and first from the *Messiah*.

"Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem, rise;
Exalt thy towery head, and lift thy eyes!
See a long race thy spacious courts adorn;
See future sons and daughters, yet unborn,
In crowding ranks on every side arise,
Demanding life, impatient for the skies:
See barbarous nations at thy gates attend,
Walk in thy light, and in thy temple bend."

The hymn reads thus:

"Rise crowned with light: great Salem, rise!
Exalt thy head and lift thine eyes:
See a long race thy courts adorn,
Of sons and daughters yet unborn.

"See nations at thy gates attend,
And lowly in thy temple bend;
See crowds on every side arise,
Eager to mount above the skies."

The indexes are prepared with very great skill and care. The divisions are very minute. Logic has never been so faithfully applied to sacred song. The whole book is constructed on the outline of a system of theology, and the phraseology of the indexes adjusted to it. The Christian graces are distributed under various heads, chiefly those of the Bold and Mild Virtues. There are a hundred and fifty references under the word *Choice*. Sometimes passages of Scripture are referred to hymns with which they have only a verbal link: e. g. Psalm xxiii. 1, to hymn 109: "Come let our voices join to raise." Here the only connexion is in the fact that the word *Shepherd* is found in the second stanza, while the spirit of the two is quite different. The same may be said of the reference of vs. 2 of this psalm, to hymn 748.

We cannot have a perfect hymn book, still less one that will satisfy everybody. The *Sabbath Hymn Book* is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to our hymnological literature.

The Voice of Christian Life in Song, is a republication, by Robert Carter & Brothers, of an English work, containing, for the most part, new translations of ancient, mediæval, German, and Swedish hymns, with a few of the older English and the later Roman Catholic. It is a popular account of hymnology, based upon the larger works of Daniel, Mone, and Trench, and the German collections of Pasig and Knapp. It is an interesting volume, giving in a small compass a good deal of information upon the history of hymnology. Many of the translations are successfully executed. We subjoin, as a good specimen, a part of the version of the admirable hymn of Venantius Fortunatus from the sixth century, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*.

"The banner of the king goes forth—
The cross, the radiant mystery,
Where, in a frame of human birth,
Man's Maker suffers on the tree.

"Fixed with the fatal nails to death,
With outstretched hands and pierced feet,
Here the pure victim yields his breath,
That our redemption be complete.

"And ere had closed that mournful day
They wounded with the spear his side;
That he might wash our sins away,
His blood pour'd forth its crimson tide.

"The truth that David learn'd to sing
Its deep fulfilment here attains;
'Tell all the earth the Lord is King!'
Lo, from the cross a king he reigns.

"O most elect and pleasant tree,
Chosen such sacred limbs to bear;
A royal purple clotheth thee—
The purple of his blood is there!

"Blest on whose arms, in woe sublime,
The ransom of the ages lay,
Outweighing all the sins of time,
Spoiling the spoiler of his prey.

"A fragrance from thy bark distils,
Surpassing heavenly nectar far;
The noblest fruit thy branches fills,
Weapon of the victorious war.

"Hail altar, victim hail once more!
That glorious passion be adored.
Since death the life himself thus bore,
And by that death our life restored."

ECCLESIASTICAL ALMANACS.

The Presbyterian Historical Almanac, by Josiah M. Wilson, is a very useful undertaking. It is intended to be an Annual Remembrancer. The first volume, 1858-9, is a substantial volume of 316 pages, 8vo., containing the statistics of all the Presbyterian Churches of this country, and of Great Britain and Ireland, so far as they could be collected. It is also illustrated with portraits of the Moderators of the Assemblies; we rejoice in the belief that some of those dignitaries are better than they look, and that many of them look better than their "counterfeit presentments." The statistics are much more accurate than the portraits. This *Almanac* gives the proceedings of the Assemblies, the statistics including full lists of ministers, of twenty-eight Presbyterian bodies who number 9,078 ministers. The report of communicants is incomplete; 694,531 is the number given; they are estimated at over a million, and the amount of contributions at above seven million of dollars. If the work is continued on the same plan, it will be indispensable to the Presbyterian clergy, and receive, as it deserves, a wide circulation.

The American Congregational Year-Book, for the year 1859, volume sixth, is issued under the auspices of the American Congregational Union. This, too, is prepared with diligence and care, and increases in value from year to year. Besides the last Annual Address before the Union, by Dr. Kitchel, and an essay on Councils by Rev. A. H. Quint, it contains a list of Congregational ministers, with the places of their collegiate and theological education, statistics of the churches, biographical notices, a revival record, sketches of churches (the edifices), an account of Congregational theological seminaries, etc. Including Canada, Jamaica, N. Brunswick and Nova Scotia the number of churches is 2,614; of ministers 2,377; of members, 242,756.

Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac, 1859, besides the statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, has a list of the cardinals, of the monastic institutions in this country, an American Martyrology of fifty-two priests and "religious" put to death for the faith within the limits of the U. S., the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the British provinces, and other statistical matter. It does not venture to give the estimated number of Roman Catholics in the United States.

The Allgemeine kirchliche Chronik, 1859, edited by Karl Matthes, is a very valuable little work, now in its fifth year. In a compressed form it

narrates the history of the Church, in all parts of the world, for the past year. The present is its fifth year. An account of controversies and of books is incorporated. It costs 37 cents. The numbers for 1855-6 and '7 can be had for half that price.

TRAVELS AND GEOGRAPHY.

Page's La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay.—The present relations of our government with Paragnay make the publication of this volume most opportune; and it is greatly for the advantage of both author and public that it fell into the hands of Harper & Brothers, instead of being sent forth as a government document. It is a large and handsome volume of 682 pages, 8vo., illustrated with numerous engravings, and provided with an admirable map of the Basin of La Plata, based upon the results of the expedition. The work is a narrative of the explorations made by order of the United States Government, from 1853 to '56; the author, Capt. Thomas J. Page, U. S. N., was the commander of the expedition. The exploration of the La Plata and its tributaries embraced an extent of 3,600 miles by water, and 4,600 by land. The opening of the river communication of La Plata to commerce has been one of the knots of South American policy. After the flight of Rosas, Urquiza was elected provisional Director of the Argentine Confederation, and by a decree of 1852 made the navigation of the river free; 800,000 square miles were thus thrown open to commerce. The United States sent the *Water Witch* to explore the magnificent estuary of La Plata and its connexions; and the fortunes of the expedition are related in a clear and unambitious narrative in the present work. It gives full information upon the political and social condition, as well as the resources, of a region, which Spanish jealousy, the dictatorship of Francia, and constant wars have hitherto kept secluded from general commerce. Of the history of the different provinces and of their chieftains, Francia, Lopez and Urquiza, an ample account is rendered. The portrait of Gaspar Francia, p. 202, tells the secret of the power with which he ruled Paraguay for twenty-six years, and after he had attained the age of fifty; it is keen, hard and artful; its contrast with the visage of President Lopez, p. 117, is very striking. The inhabitants still look round in stealth as they speak the dreaded name of Francia. The work also contains many facts interesting to the scholar, as that on the Quicha language, p. 357; on the college of Concepcion, p. 61; on the ignorance of a Deity shown by the Alipones, p. 158; and accounts of the general state of civilization and culture. As is well known, the *Water Witch* was wantonly fired upon from the Port of Itapiru; but by the successful diplomacy of Commissioner Bowlin our government is now in a

condition to reap the full advantage of these explorations, and to follow the prudent suggestion of Capt. Page as to our relations to these States. One of them, the Argentine Confederation, has adopted our Constitution as its model.

The last third of this volume, from chapter xxvi., presents the best account we have seen of the early history of the region, and of the wonderful Jesuit settlements. The estimate of the author as to the beneficial result of the Jesuit policy differs widely from our own; but the account of their mission is most valuable. It is such a narrative as we have long desired to see. This mission in Paraguay is the most remarkable attempt ever made to keep nations religious, by reducing them to a kind of theocratic state. The same attempt, with less success, was also made among the Californian Indians. The great difference between the French and Spanish methods is here exemplified; the Spanish went on the policy of coercion, the French left the nations more free. For one hundred and fifty years the Jesuits in Paraguay kept the power in their hands, and ruled the simple natives. That their dominion was preferable to that of the Spanish secular rulers we do not doubt. But it finally overreached itself. The Jesuits thought themselves strong enough, in 1752, to resist both Spain and Portugal; and the result was the expulsion of the Order. At this time, according to Capt. Page's authorities, they had 40 mission stations with 140,000 inhabitants; in the Chiquitos Reductions, 24,000 more; and at other settlements, 6,000. In 1801 the Indian population was reduced to 45,639; and the process of wasting away has been quite as rapid since. We have somewhere met with the statement that their present number is about 3,000.

Osborn's Palestine. James Challen & Son, of Philadelphia, the publishers of this beautiful volume, have issued it in admirable style. The paper, typography, and illustrations, are of a high order; though several of the chromographic engravings are rather too bright and startling for our occidental vision. The wood cuts and maps by the author, Rev. Henry S. Osborn, professor in a Virginia college, are very well executed. The maps, or rather the two parts of the map, are drawn with great distinctness and accuracy, from the authorities of Dr. E. Robinson, to whom the work is dedicated, Lieut. Lynch, Van de Velde, and several missionaries, with corrections by the author and Dr. Barclay. The addition of the roads would make it a complete guide for the traveller. A full Geographical Appendix gives the name of every place and nation mentioned in the Bible, with references to all the passages, including the modern names of many, with the probable longitude and latitude of all.

This volume is to be judged as a book of travels, and not as a work of original research. It is a very interesting narrative, written in an easy, flowing style. Very many scientific facts, and archæological and historical

discussions are interspersed, and show the author's interest in a wide range of subjects. The similarity of present manners and customs with those described in the Scriptures, is frequently pointed, as e.g. pp. 65, 85, 96, 111, 115, 169, 215, 253, 310, 386, etc. The eighth chapter on Tyre, is valuable, as is also the twenty-sixth, on the fertility of the soil of Palestine in past days, with the proof that it is still capable of the same productiveness. But little is said about Jerusalem; though the author made surveys and examinations in conjunction with Dr. Barclay; the results of these are given in Dr. Barclay's "City of the Great King," which is published by the same enterprising house. There is a long and full account of the Plain of Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. On the origin of the Dead Sea it is said: "These various facts and coincidences show that some of the changes which have given to the Dead Sea its present physical character were sudden. The character of the waters, the structure of the surrounding shores, the abrupt depression of the bed of the Sea, and the basaltic and other igneous rocks in the vicinity, all suggest that the changes were directly volcanic in their origin, and local, and not due to a long continued subsidence in accordance with a widely extended force. When this great volcanic change took place we will not attempt to calculate. That it happened at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah we should think very improbable, simply because Scriptural accounts of the land show bitumen pits, saltness and a valley—the three volcanic characteristics—existing *before that* destruction; hence, so far from supposing that the cities were destroyed at the time of the great basin depression, I should take the Scripture to show that the *great* characteristics of the Dead Sea existed before that destruction." In reference to the Pillar of Salt, his conclusion is that, "the mass of testimony, seems to indicate, that the only salt mountain or embankment, out of which any such column could have been formed, was at the southwest extremity of the Sea, near the Mountain of Salt, called also the Khasm Usdum—the former word signifying 'cartilage of the nose,' being a mass of rock salt, running south-southeast for about five miles, and not rising to the height of more than two hundred feet, at a distance from the Sea of about an average of half a mile. Fretted by fitful showers and storms, its ridge is exceedingly uneven, and its sides carved out and constantly changing, so that the testimonies, however at variance in reference to the shapes and columns apparent along the lapse of many centuries, may be reconciled by a knowledge of the nature of the material itself, and each traveller might have a new pillar to wonder over at intervals of only a few years." We should be glad to make extracts, did our space permit, from Professor Osborn's discussion identifying the Wady Kelt with the brook of Elijah, *Cherith*; though it perhaps cannot be considered conclusive.

Palestine is an ever attractive, because it is a most hallowed theme. We gladly welcome every book which adds to our knowledge of its history, its localities, and its present condition. Sacred and undying associations cluster around the places where patriarchs, prophets and apostles received and pro-

claimed the Divine revelation, and where the Son of God walked with men. These scenes can never become old or stale; and every lover and student of the Bible will be aided and profited by the work of a traveller, as intelligent and scholarly as Professor Osborn. We trust that the publishers, too, may find it for their profit, as well as for the public advantage, to issue their works in such an elegant style. The mechanical execution is quite unimpeachable. The Boston and New York publishers must look out for their laurels.

In and Around Stamboul, by Mrs. Edmund Hornby, also published by James Challen and Son, introduces us in the form of letters, to the rambles and adventures of the wife of an English officer. It is an entertaining and animated picture of things seen and heard at Constantinople, on the Bosphorus, and in the Crimea.

HISTORY.

A New History of the Conquest of Mexico; by R. A. Wilson. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1859. 8vo. pp. 539. This history professes to be a vindication of Las Casas' denunciations of the popular historians of the wars of Cortez. Judge Wilson enters into rivalry, and thus leads inevitably to comparison with Prescott's classical work. Prescott constructed; Wilson demolishes. The former was reverent, the latter is a thorough-going iconoclast.

Historical research is now, more than ever before, doing a twofold work in respect to the monuments and traditions of the people that have left no proper historical annals. The monuments are examined with greater care; the traditions are sifted with closer scrutiny. The monumental relics of ancient people, so far as any sure deductions can be made from them, are of course among the prime sources of evidence; traditions are apt to take the form of legends, and to grow with each succeeding century. The work of historical criticism begins with the sifting of the legends; as in Niebuhr's Rome and Curtius' Greece. The work of historical reconstruction, much more valuable than that of destruction, attaches itself to the permanent monuments of a nation, which are to be used for the elucidation of the traditions. Thus the remains of Babylon and Nineveh, and the monuments of Egypt, are a perpetual stimulus to investigation, and in the works of Layard, Rawlinson and Bunsen add to the stock of history.

This work of Judge Wilson is an attempt to invalidate not only the chronicles, but also the monuments of Mexican history, so far as the latter have been ascribed to the people found on the soil at the time of the Spa-

nish conquest. The chronicles, he assures us, are not trustworthy; the picture-writing is a Spanish invention; the monuments of a more solid character belong to a period far anterior to the time of the Aztecs. The Indians with whom the Spaniards contended, were like the tribes of North America, with about as much civilization and organization; quite unlike the description left of them by the early chroniclers, who made up their accounts by the intermixture of Moorish fables and pious frauds. This process of demolition, begun in Mr. Wilson's *Mexico and its Religion*, is supposed to be consummated in the present volume. The Hon. Lewis Cass, in the *American Quarterly Review*, exposed some of the inconsistencies and fables of the historian of the Conquest; but he was moderate in comparison with the author of this volume.

There are undoubtedly exaggerations and inconsistencies in the extant accounts of the Conquest of Mexico. This has been acknowledged by all historians. Spanish invention and romance, and the disposition to paint in the highest colors whatever is novel and distant, have lent their aid. And Mr. Wilson has justly criticised many of these unhistorical elements. Had he confined himself to the process of elimination, his results would have been of more permanent value. But to make out his case he has thought it necessary to throw such discredit on the witnesses as necessarily undermines history itself. He has taken away the testimony and leaves us only a theory. Bernal Diaz is treated as if he himself, as well as his "True Account" were a myth. Robertson says that his "account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such pleasant naiveté, with such interesting details, with such amusing variety—and yet so pardonable in an old soldier, who had been, as he boasts, in 119 battles,—as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language." Prescott was not disposed to be led astray by mere conjectures; he is sagacious and careful in his use of documents; yet he gives credence to the straightforward soldier. In the same way this *New History* throws doubt on all the narratives and conclusions of previous writers and explorers. Undoubted facts are denied on slight presumption; e. g., the existence of human sacrifices among the Aztecs, to which there is ample testimony; and the existence of picture-writing, which may have been rude, but which was certainly found to some extent among the natives.

The Phœnician origin of the original inhabitants of Mexico and Central America is one of the most earnestly argued, and least successful parts of this work. There is here undoubtedly a fable which has not yet been resolved. Both monuments and traditions seem to point to an older civilisation than that found by the Spaniards. Lord Kingsborough traces it to the Jews and the apostle Thomas; Judge Wilson, with hardly better success, to the Phœnicians. The cross, which makes the frontispiece to this volume, will hardly bear the weight laid upon it. But at the same time, we think that there is here a question which has not yet been fully answered; the problem of an earlier race and its origin. Brasseur de Bour-

bourg, who spent ten years in Mexico, in his recent work on the History of Mexico, 4 vols. Paris, 1857-8, investigates this question with great learning, contending for the Asiatic origin, and probably from the North East of Asia. Some of Judge Wilson's critics seem to ignore the whole question. It is one of the great ethnological problems.

The latter chapters of this work are much more satisfactory; giving an account of the wonderful career of Cortez, divested of hyperbole. The marvel of the achievement, and the energy of the man—a great, though rude captain—remain, making all possible allowance for exaggerated reports. The style of the narrative of events, too, sensibly improves, though not free from occasional inaccuracies and infelicities of expression. The author has not succeeded in banishing Mr. Prescott's work to the region of romance, nor in the construction of a new history of the epoch; but he has begun a work of criticism, which will lead to farther inquiries and researches. Had the work been issued with less exaggerated claims, it would have met with a more indulgent reception. Some of the illustrations were not intended by the writer to take so prominent a place. The letters of Mr. Prescott and M. St. Hilaire give honorable evidence of the high courtesy of these historians. The work is published in superior style.

La Cochinchine et le Tonquin. We have just received the new work of Eugène Veuillot on Cochin China and Tonquin, an octavo volume, xv. and 438 pp., giving a full account of the country, its history and its missions. It is altogether the fullest and best work on the subject. The reports of the Roman Catholic missionaries, to which the author had free access, are the basis of the narrative. It is written in the interest of the Roman Catholic missions, but chiefly to advocate the present project of France to gain a foothold in the East. England has the Indies and Hong Kong; and M. Veuillot thinks that she cannot be dislodged by France. Russia is making rapid strides on the Amoor, realizing the plan formed by Peter the Great. The Dutch hold Java and are extending their conquests over the Malaisian archipelago. The Spaniards are firmly established in the Philippines. Even Portugal has Timor and Macao. But France has nothing in these eastern climes. "We cannot think of India. The three insignificant and weak posts we there occupy can be developed only at the price of a great European war. But the empire of Anam is open to us, and there we must establish ourselves. As early as 1787 a great and holy bishop, Mgr. Pigneaux de Béhaine, bishop of Adrian, apostolic vicar of Cochin China, proposed to Louis XVI. to found a colony among the Anamites." This is the "historical right" in the case, so far as we can find it in this book. "France must have a colony worthy of herself in these Indo-Chinese seas;" yet not to carry there the "telegraph," or even the "steam engine;" but to diffuse "light and truth." This is the present mission of

Vice-admiral Rigault, who "has unfolded the French flag in these seas," and is showing to the benighted Anamites "the imperial eagle protecting the cross."

It is now more than two centuries since the Roman Catholic mission began in Anam. Diego Advarte, Dominican, made an attempt in 1596; Father de Rhodes in 1615; persecutions raged in 1644-60. Bishop Deydier went to Tonquin in 1660 and Bishop Mahot to Cochin China in 1666; 18 bishops and 64 missionaries have since been sent from France to the former region; and 16 bishops and 90 missionaries to the latter. With varying fortunes the missions were prosecuted in the midst of great internal changes in the government of the country. Since 1802, Anam (An-Nam means, repose of the south) has been one empire under the name of Yiet-Nam, embracing Cochin China, Tonquin, Triampa (Chiampa) and Cambodia. As early as 1787 a treaty of Gia-Laong with Bishop Adrian guaranteed the lives of the missionaries. But from 1833 to 1838 there were terrible persecutions; renewed in 1844. Admiral Lapierre in 1847 claimed, with a French frigate before the port of Touranne, liberty of Catholic worship, but without success. Under the present emperor, Tu-Duc, three missionaries have been executed; M. de Monteguy made an equally unsuccessful intervention for France in 1857; and Admiral Rigault is avenging the slain, and extending the empire of France.

We cannot now give, as we should be glad to do, the substance of the chapters in which M. Veuillot describes the country, the inhabitants and their religion, and the history of the missions. The population is estimated at from 12,000,000 to 16,000,000. The statistics of the missions are given on a previous page of this Review.

The History of Minnesota; from the Earliest French Expedition to the Present Time.—The Rev. Edward D. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, in this solid volume of 528-800 pages, has collected with great zeal and industry whatever relates to the early history of the Dakotahs, the settlement of Minnesota by the whites, and its resources, geography and progress to the time when it became a State. No person is so well qualified for this work as Mr. Neill, who has been identified with the growth of the territory, and done as much as any one man to shape its policy in respect to education and morals. He has also been the life of the Historical Society of that territory, and the author of several of its reports. The account of the Indian habits and customs is very full. The early French explorations are related on the best authorities, correcting many current erroneous statements and impressions. The work is the fruit of much research, and is indispensable to any who would know the history of the North West. It is an honor to this youthful State, to have already produced so good a historian.

[Notices of other books received are necessarily deferred to the next number.]